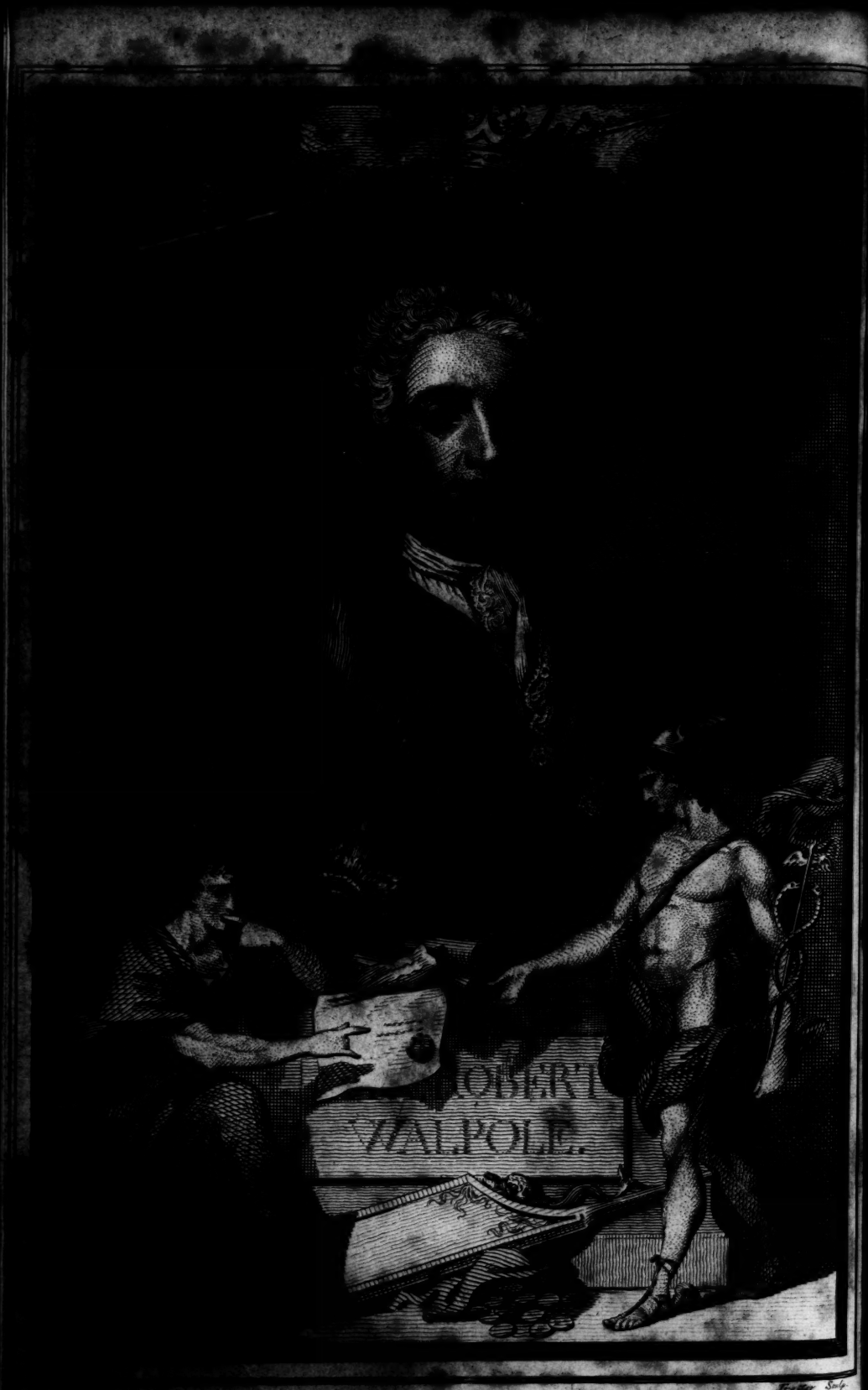
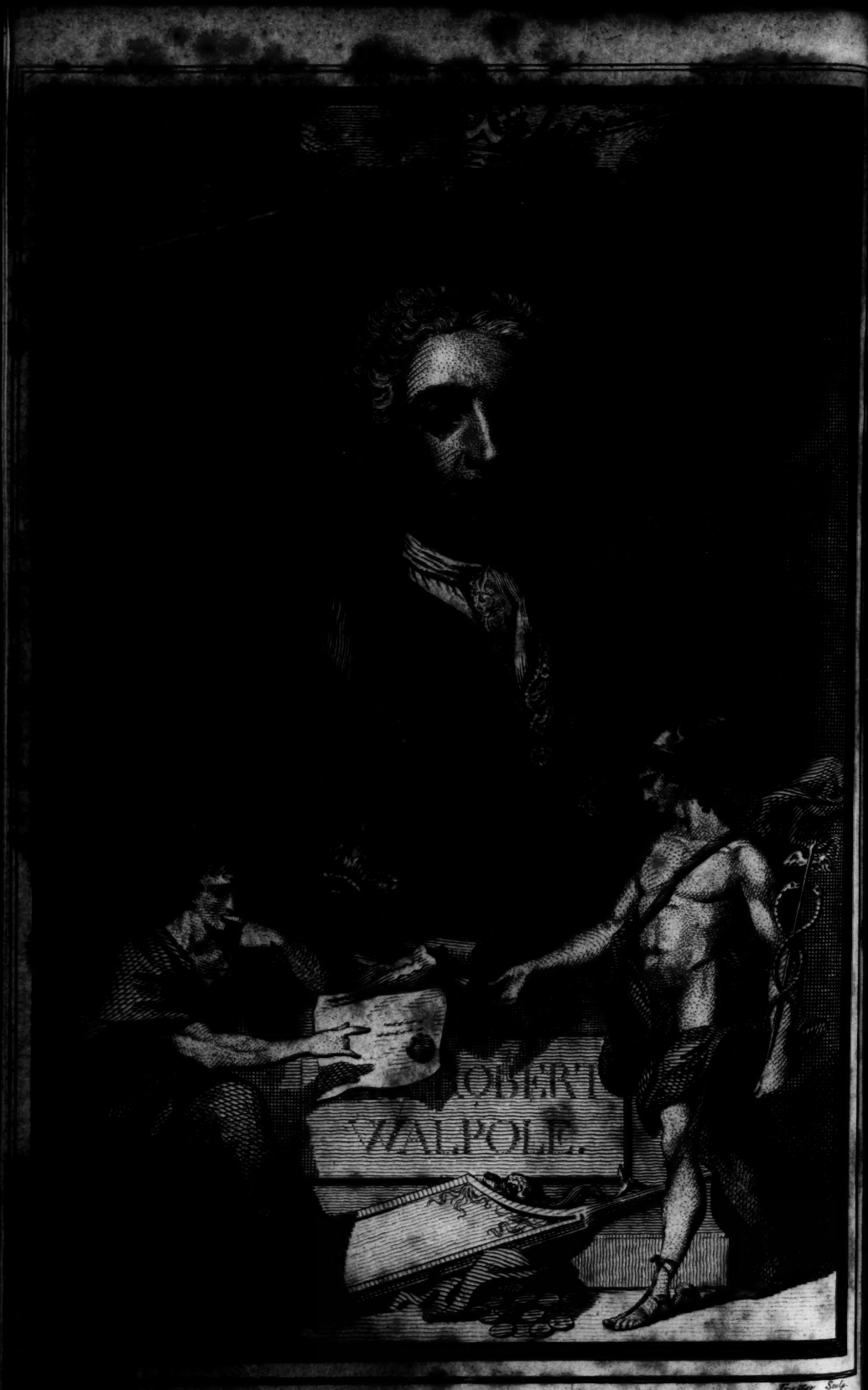
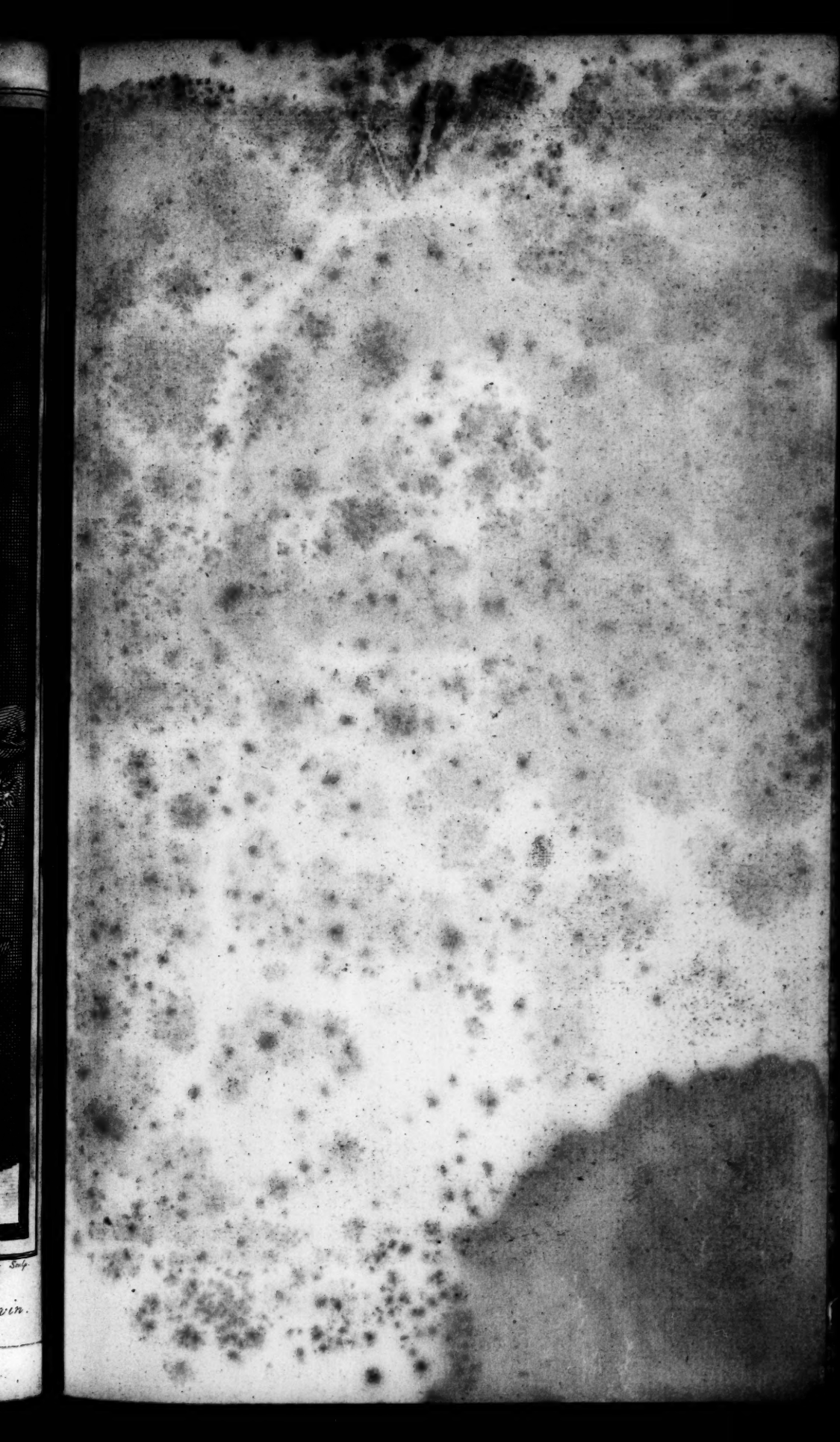


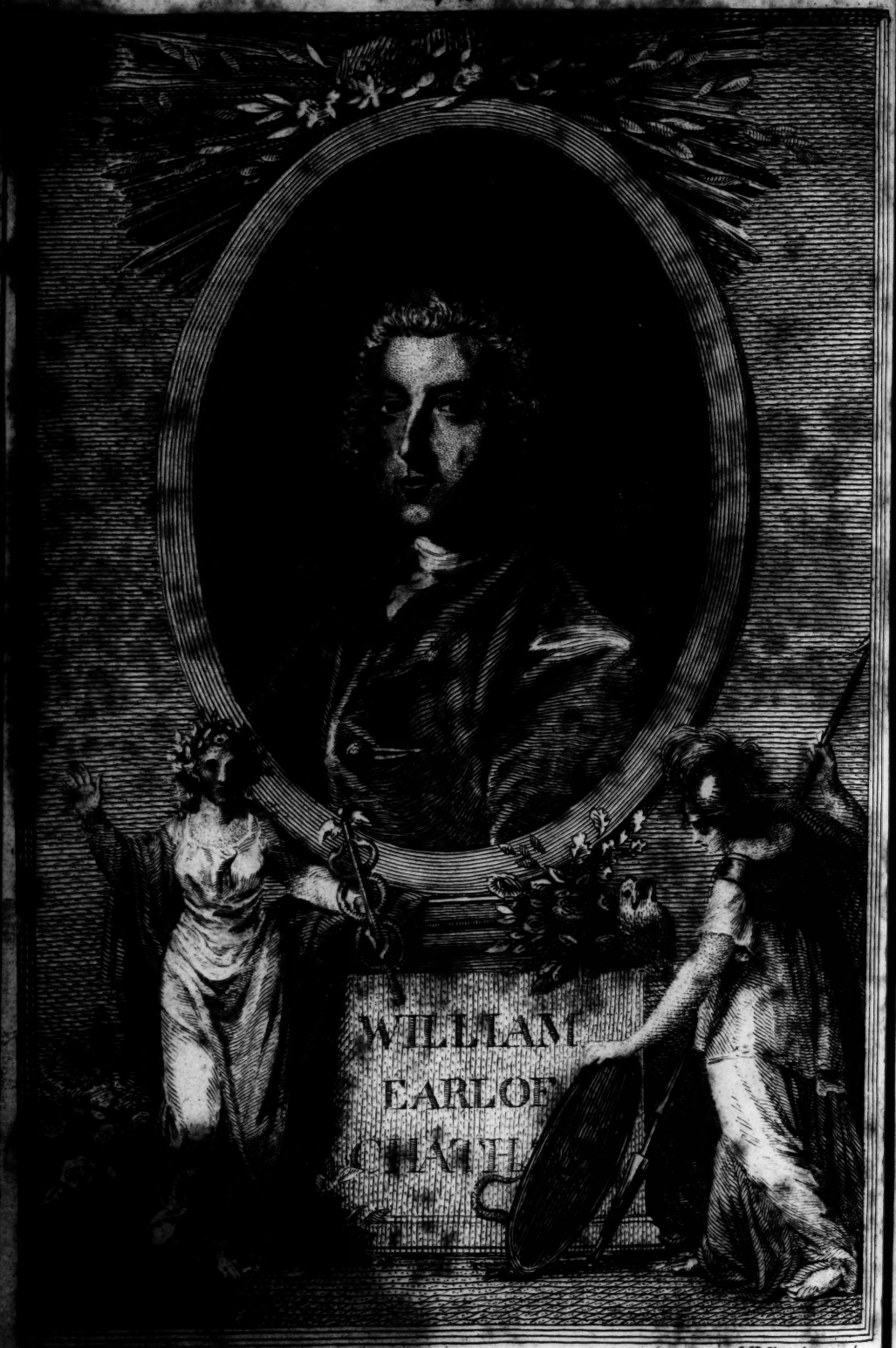
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THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM

THE REVOLUTION

TO

THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

(DESIGNED AS A CONTINUATION OF MR. HUME'S HISTORY.)

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

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THE

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BOOK III.

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§ I.

§ I. HAVING thus, to the beſt of our power, given a faithful and exact detail of every material event, in which Great-Britain was concerned either at home, or in her ſettlements abroad, during the greateſt part of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-ſix, we ſhall now return to Europe, and endeavour to explain the beginning of a bloody war in Germany, which then ſeemed to have become the chief object of the Britiſh councils. On the eve of a rupture between France and England, it was natural for his Britannick Majeſty to provide for the ſafety of his Electoral dominions, the only quarter by which he was at all acceſſible to the efforts of the enemy, who he foreſaw would not fail to annoy him through that avenue. He, at that time, ſtood upon indifferent terms with the King of Pruſſia, who was conſidered as a partizan and ally of France; and he knew that the Houſe of Auſtria alone would not be ſufficient to ſupport him againſt two ſuch powerful antagoniſts. In this emergency, he had recourſe to the Empreſs of Ruſſia, who, in conſequence of a large ſubſidy granted by England, engaged to furniſh a ſtrong body of forces for the defence of Hanover. His Pruſſian Majeſty, ſtartled at the conditions of this treaty, took an opportunity to declare that he would not ſuffer foreign forces of any nation to enter the empire, either as principals or auxiliaries; a declaration which probably flowed from a jealouſy and averſion he had conceived to the Court of Peterſburgh, as well as from a reſolution he had formed of ſtriking ſome great ſtroke in Germany, without any riſque of being reſtricted or controlled. He knew he ſhould give umbrage to the French King, who had already made preparations for penetrating into Weſtphalia: but he took it for granted he ſhould be able to exchange his connexions with France for the alliance with Great-Britain, which would be much leſs troubleſome, and

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much more productive of advantage: indeed, ſuch an alliance was the neceſſary conſequence of his declaration. Had his Britannick Majeſty made a requiſition of the Ruſſian auxiliaries, he muſt have expoſed himſelf to the reſentment of a warlike Monarch, who hovered on the ſkirts of his electorate at the head of one hundred and forty thouſand men, and could have ſubdued the whole country in one week; and if he forebore to avail himſelf of the treaty with the Czarina, he did not know how ſoon the King of Pruſſia might be reconciled to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's deſign of invaſion. As for the Empreſs-Queen, her attention was engroſſed by ſchemes for her intereſt or preſervation; and her hands ſo full, that ſhe either could not, or would not, fulfil the engagements ſhe had contracted with her former and firmeſt allies. In theſe circumſtances the King of England ſought and obtained the alliance of Pruſſia, which, to the beſt of our comprehenſion, entailed upon Great-Britain the enormous burthen of extravagant ſubſidies, together with the intolerable expence of a continental war, without being productive of one advantage, either poſitive or negative, to England or Hanover. On the contrary, this connection threw the Empreſs-Queen into the arms of France, whoſe friendſhip ſhe bought at the expence of the Barrier in the Netherlands, acquired with infinite labour, by the blood and treaſure of the maritime powers: it gave birth to a confederacy of deſpotick princes; ſufficient, if their joint force was fully exerted, to overthrow the liberties of all the free ſtates in Europe; and, after all, Hanover has been over-run, and ſubdued by the enemy; and the King of Pruſſia put to the ban of the Empire. All theſe conſequences are, we apprehend, fairly deducible from the reſolution which his Pruſſian Majeſty took, at this juncture, to precipitate a war with the Houſe of Auſtria. The apparent motives that prompted him to this meaſure

we ſhall preſently explain. In the mean time, the defenſive treaty between the Empreſs-Queen and France was no ſooner ratified, than the Czarina was invited to accede to the alliance, and a private Miniſter ſent from Paris to Peterſburgh, to negotiate the conditions of this acceſſion, which the Empreſs of Ruſſia accordingly embraced: a circumſtance ſo agreeable to the Court of Verſailles, that the Marquis de L'Hopital was immediately appointed Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of Ruſſia. Applications were likewiſe made to the Courts of Madrid and Turin, ſoliciting their concurrence; but their Catholick and Sardinian Majeſties wiſely reſolved to obſerve a neutrality. At the ſame time, intrigues were begun by the French emiſſaries in the ſenate of Sweden, in order to kindle up a war between that nation and Pruſſia; and their endeavours ſucceeded in the ſequel, even contrary to the inclination of their Sovereign. At preſent, a plot was diſcovered for altering the form of government, by increaſing the power of the Crown; and ſeveral perſons of rank being convicted upon trial, were beheaded as principals in this conſpiracy. Although it did not appear that the King or Queen were at all concerned in the ſcheme, his Swediſh Majeſty thought himſelf ſo hardly treated by the Diet, that he threatened to reſign his royalty, and retire into his own hereditary dominions. This deſign was extremely diſagreeable to the people in general, who eſpouſed his cauſe in oppoſition to the Diet, by whom they conceived themſelves more oppreſſed than they ſhould have been under an unlimited monarchy.

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§ II. The King of Pruſſia, alarmed at theſe formidable alliances, ordered all his forces to be completed, and held in readineſs to march at the firſt notice; and a report was induſtriouſly circulated, that by a ſecret article in the late treaty between France and the Houſe of Auſtria, theſe two powers

BOOK III. 1756. had obliged themſelves to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion, and overturn the freedom of the Empire, by a forced election of a King of the Romans. The cry of Religion was no impolitick meaſure; but it no longer produced the ſame effect as in times paſt. Religion was made a pretence on both ſides: for the partiſans of the Empreſs-Queen inſinuated, on all occaſions, that the ruin of the Catholick faith in Germany, was the principal object of the new alliance between the Kings of Great-Britain and Pruſſia. It was in conſequence of ſuch ſuggeſtions, that his Britannick Majeſty ordered his electoral miniſter at the Diet, to deliver a memorial to all the miniſters at Ratiſbon, expreſſing his ſurpriſe to find the treaty he had concluded with the King of Pruſſia induſtriouſly repreſented as a ground of apprehenſion and umbrage, eſpecially for religion. He obſerved, that as France had made open diſpoſitions for invading the electorate of Hanover, and diſturbing the peace of the Empire; that as he had been denied, by the Empreſs-Queen, the ſuccours ſtipulated in treaties of alliance; and as he was refuſed aſſiſtance by certain States of the Empire, who even ſeemed diſpoſed to favour ſuch a diverſion: he had, in order to provide for the ſecurity of his own dominions, to eſtabliſh peace and tranquillity in the Empire, and maintain its ſyſtem and privileges, without any prejudice to Religion, concluded a defenſive treaty with the King of Pruſſia: that, by this inſtance of patriotick zeal for the welfare of Germany, he had done an eſſential ſervice to the Empreſs-Queen, and performed the part which the head of the Empire, in dignity and duty, ought to have acted: that time would demonſtrate how little it was the intereſt of the Empreſs-Queen to engage in a ſtrict alliance with a foreign power, which, for upwards of two centuries, had ravaged the principal provinces of the Empire, maintained repeated wars againſt the Archducal Houſe of Auſtria, and always endeavoured,

deavoured, as it ſuited her views, to excite diſtruſt and diſſenſion among the Princes and States that compoſe the Germanick body. CHAP. VI. 1756.

§ III. The Court of Vienna formed two conſiderable armies in Bohemia and Moravia; yet pretended that they had nothing in view but ſelf-preſervation, and ſolemnly diſclaimed both the ſecret article, and the deſign which had been laid to their charge. His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty declared, by his Miniſter at Berlin, that he had no other intention but to maintain the publick tranquillity of Europe; and, this being the ſole end of all his meaſures, he beheld with ſurprize the preparations and armaments of certain potentates: that, whatever might be the view with which they were made, he was diſpoſed to make uſe of the power which God had put into his hands, not only to maintain the publick peace of Europe againſt all who ſhould attempt to diſturb it, but alſo to employ all his forces, agreeably to his engagements, for the aſſiſtance of his ally, in caſe her dominions ſhould be attacked: finally, that he would act in the ſame manner in behalf of all the other powers with whom he was in alliance. This intimation made very little impreſſion upon the King of Pruſſia, who had already formed his plan, and was determined to execute his purpoſe. What his original plan might have been, we ſhall not pretend to diſcloſe; nor do we believe he imparted it to any confident or ally. It muſt be confeſſed, however, that the intrigues of the Court of Vienna furniſhed him with a ſpecious pretence for drawing the ſword, and commencing hoſtilities. The Empreſs-Queen had ſome reaſon to be jealous of ſuch a formidable neighbour. She remembered his irruption into Bohemia, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-four, at a time when ſhe thought that country, and all her other dominions, ſecure from his invaſion by the treaty of Breſlau, which ſhe had in no particular contravened. She

BOOK III. 1756. caballed againſt him in different Courts of Europe; ſhe concluded a treaty with the Czarina, which, though ſeemingly defenſive, implied an intention of making conqueſts upon this Monarch: ſhe endeavoured to engage the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, as a contracting power in this confederacy; and, if he had not been afraid of a ſudden viſit from his neighbour of Pruſſia, it cannot be ſuppoſed but he would have been pleaſed to contribute to the humiliation of a Prince, who had once before, without the leaſt provocation, driven him from his dominions, taken poſſeſſion of his capital, routed his troops, and obliged him to pay a million of crowns, to indemnify him for the expenſe of this expedition: but he carefully avoided taking ſuch a ſtep as might expoſe him to another invaſion, and even refuſed to accede to the treaty of Peterſburgh, though it was expreſsly defenſive; the *Caſus Fœderus* being, his Pruſſian Majeſty's attacking either of the contracting parties. It appears, however, that Count de Bruhl, prime miniſter and favourite of the King of Poland, had, in conjunction with ſome of the Auſtrian miniſters, carried on certain ſcandalous intrigues, in order to embroil the King of Pruſſia with the Empreſs of Ruſſia, between whom a miſunderſtanding had long ſubſiſted.

§ IV. His Pruſſian Majeſty, perceiving the military preparations of the Court of Vienna, and having obtained intelligence of their ſecret negociations with different powers of Europe, ordered M. de Klingraafe, his miniſter at the Imperial Court, to demand whether all thoſe preparations of war, on the frontiers of Sileſia, were deſigned againſt him, and what were the intentions of her Imperial Majeſty? To this demand the Empreſs replied, That in the preſent juncture ſhe had found it neceſſary to make armaments, as well for her own defence as for that of her allies; but that they did not tend to the prejudice of any perſon or ſtate whatever. The King,

far

far from being ſatisfied with this general anſwer, ſent freſh orders to Klingraafe, to repreſent, That after the King had diſſembled, as long as he thought conſiſtent with his ſafety and honour, the bad deſigns imputed to the Empreſs would not ſuffer him longer to diſguiſe his ſentiments: that he was acquainted with the offenſive projects which the two courts had formed at Peterſburgh; that he knew they had engaged to attack him ſuddenly with an army of two hundred thouſand men; a deſign which would have been executed in the ſpring of the year, had not the Ruſſian forces wanted recruits, their fleet mariners, and Livonia a ſufficient quantity of corn for their ſupport; that he conſtituted the Empreſs arbiter of peace or war: if ſhe deſired the former, he required a clear and formal declaration, or poſitive aſſurance, that ſhe had no intention to attack him, either this year or the next; but he ſhould look upon an ambiguous anſwer as a declaration of war; and he called heaven to witneſs, that the Empreſs alone would be guilty of the innocent blood that ſhould be ſpilt, and all the diſmal conſequences that would attend the commiſſion of hoſtilities. CHAP. VI. 1756.

§ V. A declaration of this nature might have provoked a leſs haughty court than that of Vienna, and, indeed, ſeems to have been calculated on purpoſe to exaſperate the pride of her Imperial Majeſty, whoſe anſwer he ſoon received to this effect: That his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia had already been employed, for ſome time, in all kinds of the moſt conſiderable preparations of war, and the moſt diſquieting with regard to the publick tranquillity, when he thought fit to demand explanations of her Majeſty, touching the military diſpoſitions that were making in her dominions; diſpoſitions on which ſhe had not reſolved till after the preparations of his Pruſſian Majeſty had been made; that though her Majeſty, might have declined explaining herſelf on thoſe ſubjects, which required no explanation, ſhe had been

BOOK III. 1756. been pleaſed to declare, with her own mouth, to M. de Klingraafe, that the critical ſtate of publick affairs rendered the meaſures ſhe was taking abſolutely neceſſary for her own ſafety, and that of her allies; but that, in other reſpects, they tended to the prejudice of no perſon whatſoever: that her Imperial Majeſty had undoubtedly a right to form what judgment ſhe pleaſed on the circumſtances of the times; and likewiſe that it belonged to none but herſelf to eſtimate her own danger: that her declaration was ſo clear, ſhe never imagined it could be thought otherwiſe: that being accuſtomed to receive, as well as to practiſe, the decorums which Sovereigns owe to each other, ſhe could not hear without aſtoniſhment and ſenſibility the contents of the memorial now preſented by M. de Klingraafe; ſo extraordinary, both in the matter and expreſſions, that ſhe would find herſelf under a neceſſity of tranſgreſſing the bounds of that moderation which ſhe had preſcribed to herſelf, were ſhe to anſwer the whole of its contents; nevertheleſs, ſhe thought proper to declare, that the information communicated to his Pruſſian Majeſty, of an offenſive alliance againſt him, ſubſiſting between herſelf and the Empreſs of Ruſſia, together with the circumſtances and pretended ſtipulations of that alliance, were abſolutely falſe and forged, for no ſuch treaty did exiſt, or ever had exiſted. She concluded with obſerving, that this declaration would enable all Europe to judge of what weight and quality thoſe dreadful events were which Klingraafe's memorial announced; and to perceive that, in any caſe, they could not be imputed to her Imperial Majeſty. This anſwer, though ſeemingly explicit, was not deemed ſufficiently categorical, or, at leaſt, not ſuitable to the purpoſes of the King of Pruſſia, who, by his reſident at Vienna, once more declared, that if the Empreſs-Queen would ſign a poſitive aſſurance that ſhe would not attack his Pruſſian Majeſty, either this year or the next, he would

would directly withdraw his troops, and let things be restored to their former footing. This demand was evaded, on pretence that such an assurance could not be more binding than the solemn treaty by which he was already secured; a treaty which the Empress-Queen had no intention to violate. But, before an answer could be delivered, the King had actually invaded Saxony, and published his declaration against the Court of Vienna. The Court of Vienna believing that the King of Prussia was bent upon employing his arms somewhere; being piqued at the dictatorial manner in which his demands were conveyed; unwilling to lay themselves under further restrictions; apprehensive of giving umbrage to their allies, and confident of having provided for their own security, resolved to run the risque of his resentment, not without hopes of being indemnified in the course of the war, for that part of Silesia which the Queen had been obliged to cede in the treaty of Breslau. CHAP. VI. 1756.

§ VI. Both sides being thus prepared, and perhaps equally eager for action, the King of Prussia would no longer suspend his operations, and the storm fell first upon Saxony. He resolved to penetrate through that country into Bohemia, and even to take possession of it as a frontier, as well as for the convenience of ingress and egress to and from the Austrian dominions. Besides, he had reason to believe the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, was connected with the Czarina and the Empress-Queen; therefore, he thought it would be impolitick to leave that Prince in any condition to give him the least disturbance. His army entered the Saxon territory towards the latter end of August, when he published a declaration, importing, that the unjust conduct and dangerous views of the Court of Vienna against his Majesty's dominions laid him under the necessity of taking proper measures for protecting his territories and subjects; that for this purpose he could not forbear taking the disagreeable resolution to enter

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ter with his troops the hereditary dominions of his Majeſty the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony: but he proteſted before God and man, that on account of his perſonal eſteem and friendſhip for that Prince, he would not have proceeded to this extremity, had he not been forced to it by the laws of war, the fatality of the preſent conjuncture, and the neceſſity of providing for the defence and ſecurity of his ſubjects. He reminded the publick of the tenderneſs with which he had treated the Elector of Saxony, during the campaign of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-four, and of the bad conſequences reſulting to that Monarch from his engagements with the enemies of Pruſſia. He declared that the apprehenſions of being expoſed again to ſuch enterpriſes, had obliged him to take thoſe precautions which prudence dictated: but he proteſted in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he had no hoſtile views againſt his Poliſh Majeſty, or his dominions: that his troops did not enter Saxony as enemies, and he had taken care that they ſhould obſerve the beſt order, and the moſt exact diſcipline: that he deſired nothing more ardently, than the happy minute that ſhould procure him the ſatisfaction of reſtoring to his Poliſh Majeſty his hereditary dominions, which he had ſeized only as a ſacred depoſitum. By his miniſter at Dreſden, he had demanded a free paſſage for his forces through the Saxon dominions; and this the King of Poland was ready to grant, with reaſonable limitations, to be ſettled by commiſſaries appointed for that purpoſe. But theſe were formalities which did not at all ſuit with his Pruſſian Majeſty's diſpoſition or deſign. Even before this requiſition was made, a body of his troops, amounting to fifteen thouſand, under the command of Prince Ferdinand, brother to the Duke of Brunſwick, took poſſeſſion of Leipſick on the twentieth day of September. Here he publiſhed a declaration, ſignifying that it was his Pruſſian Majeſty's intention to

conſider

conſider and defend the inhabitants of that Electorate as if they were his own ſubjects; and that he had given preciſe orders to his troops to obſerve the moſt exact diſcipline. As the firſt mark of his affection, he ordered them to provide the army with all ſorts of proviſion, according to a certain rate, on pain of military execution. That ſame evening notice was given to the corporation of merchants, that their deputies ſhould pay all taxes and cuſtoms to the King of Pruſſia: then he took poſſeſſion of the cuſtom-houſe, and exciſe-office, and ordered the magazines of corn and meal to be opened for the uſe of his ſoldiers. CHAP. VI. 1756.

§ VII. The King of Poland, apprehenſive of ſuch a viſitation, had ordered all the troops of his electorate to leave their quarters, and aſſemble in a ſtrong camp marked out for them, between Pirna and Konigſtein, which was entrenched, and provided with a numerous train of artillery. Thither the King of Poland repaired, with his two ſons Xaverius and Charles; but the Queen and the reſt of the royal family remained at Dreſden. Of this capital his Pruſſian Majeſty, with the bulk of his army, took poſſeſſion on the eighth day of September, when he was viſited by Lord Stormont, the Engliſh Ambaſſador at that court, accompanied by Count Salmour, a Saxon minſter, who, in his Maſter's name, propoſed a neutrality. The King of Pruſſia profeſſed himſelf extremely well pleaſed with the propoſal; and, as the moſt convincing proof of his neutrality, deſired the King of Poland would ſeparate his army, by ordering his troops to return to their former quarters. His Poliſh Majeſty did not like to be ſo tutored in his own dominions: he depended for his own ſafety more upon the valour and attachment of his troops thus aſſembled, than upon the friendſhip of a Prince who had invaded his dominions, and ſequeſtered his revenue without provocation; and he truſted too much to the ſituation of his camp

at

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* His Majeſty ſeems to have abated of this reſpect in the ſequel, if we may believe the aſſertions of his Poliſh Majeſty's Queen, and the Court of Vienna, who affirmed, that ſentinels were poſted within the palace where the Queen and Royal Family reſided; as alſo at the door of the ſecret cabinet, where the papers relating to foreign tranſactions were depoſited. The keys of this cabinet were ſeized, and all the writings demanded. The whole Saxon miniſtry were diſcharged from their reſpective employments, and a new commiſſion was eſtabliſhed by the King of Pruſſia for the adminiſtration of affairs in general. When the Queen entreated this Prince to remove the ſentinels

camp was blocked up on every ſide, he ſometimes permitted a waggon, loaded with freſh proviſion and game, to paſs unmoleſted, for the uſe of his Poliſh Majeſty. CHAP. VI. 1756.

§ VIII. During theſe tranſactions, the greateſt part of the Pruſſian army advanced into Bohemia, under the command of Veldt-Mareſchal Keith*, who reduced the town and palace of Tetchen, took poſſeſſion of all the paſſes, and encamped near Auſſig, a ſmall town in Bohemia, at no great diſtance from the Imperial army, amounting to fifty thouſand men, commanded by Count Brown, an officer of Iriſh extract, who had often diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the field by his courage, vigilance, and conduct. His Pruſſian Majeſty having left a conſiderable body of troops for the blockade of Pirna, aſſumed in perſon the command of Mareſchal Keith's corps, and advanced to give battle to the enemy. On the twenty-ninth day of September he formed his troops in two columns, and in the evening arrived with his van at Welmina, from whence he ſaw the Auſtrian army poſted with its right at Lowoſchutz, and its

ſentinels poſted within the palace, and contiguous paſſages, agreeably to his aſſurances, that all due reſpect ſhould be obſerved towards the Royal Family, the King ordered the guards to be doubled, and ſent an officer to demand of her Majeſty the keys of the ſecret cabinet. The Queen obtained the officer's conſent, that the doors ſhould be ſealed up; but afterwards he returned with orders to break them open: then her Majeſty placing herſelf before the door, ſaid, ſhe truſted ſo much to the promiſe of the King of Pruſſia, that ſhe could not believe he had given ſuch orders. The officer declaring that his orders were poſitive, and that he durſt not diſobey them, ſhe continued in the ſame place, declaring, that if violence was to be uſed, he muſt begin with her. The officer returning to acquaint the King with what had paſſed, her Majeſty conjured the Miniſters of Pruſſia and England to remind his Majeſty of his promiſe; but her repreſentations had no effect; the officer returned with freſh orders to uſe force, in ſpite of the oppoſition ſhe might make againſt it in perſon. The Queen, finding herſelf in danger of her life, at length withdrew: the doors were forced, the cheſts broke open, and all the papers ſeized.

* Brother to the Earl Mareſchal of Scotland, a gentleman who had ſignalized himſelf as a General in the Ruſſian army, and was accounted one of the beſt officers of his time; not more admired for his warlike genius, than amiable in his diſpoſition.

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left towards the Egra. Having occupied with ſix battalions a hollow way, and ſome riſing grounds, which commanded the town of Lowoſchutz, he remained all night under arms at Welmina; and on the firſt day of October, early in the morning, formed his whole army in order of battle; the firſt line, conſiſting of the infantry, occupying two hills, and a bottom betwixt them; the ſecond line being formed of ſome battalions, and the third compoſed of the whole cavalry. The Auſtrian General had taken poſſeſſion of Lowoſchutz, with a great body of infantry, and placed a battery of cannon in front of the town: he had formed his cavalry chequer-wiſe, in a line between Lowoſchutz, and the village of Sanſchitz; and poſted about two thouſand Croats and irregulars in the vineyards and avenues on his right. The morning was darkened with a thick fog, which vaniſhed about ſeven: then the Pruſſian cavalry advanced to attack the enemy's horſe; but received ſuch a fire from the irregulars, poſted in vineyards and ditches, as well as from a numerous artillery, that they were obliged to retire for protection to the rear of the Pruſſian infantry and cannon. There, being formed, and led back to the charge, they made an impreſſion on the Auſtrian cavalry, and drove the irregulars, and other bodies of infantry, from the ditches, defiles, and vineyards which they poſſeſſed: but they ſuffered ſo ſeverely in this dangerous ſervice, that the King ordered them to re-aſcend the hill, and take poſt again behind the infantry, from whence they no more advanced. In the mean time, a furious cannonading was maintained on both ſides with conſiderable effect. At length the left of the Pruſſian infantry was ordered to attack the town of Lowoſchutz in flank; but met with a very warm reception, and in all likelihood, would have miſcarried, had not Veldt-Mareſchal Keith headed them in perſon: when he drew his ſword,

ſword, and told them he would lead them on, he was given to underſtand, that all their powder and ſhot were exhauſted: he turned immediately to them with a cheerful countenance, ſaid he was very glad they had no more ammunition, being well aſſured the enemy could not withſtand them at puſh of bayonet; ſo ſaying, he advanced at their head, and, driving the Auſtrians from Lowoſchutz, ſet the ſuburbs on fire. The infantry had been already obliged to quit the eminence on the right; and now their whole army retired to Budin, on the other ſide of the Egra. Some priſoners, colours, and pieces of cannon, were taken on both ſides; and the loſs of each might amount to two thouſand five hundred killed and wounded: ſo that, on the whole, it was a drawn battle, though both Generals claimed the victory. The detail of the action, publiſhed at Berlin, declares, that the King of Pruſſia not only gained the battle, but that ſame day eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Lowoſchutz: whereas the Auſtrian Gazette affirms, that the Mareſchal Count Brown obliged his Pruſſian Majeſty to retire, and remained all night on the field of battle; but next day, finding his troops in want of water, he repaired to the camp of Budin. If the battle was at all deciſive, the advantage certainly fell to the Auſtrians; for his Pruſſian Majeſty, who, in all probability, had hoped to winter at Prague, was obliged, by the oppoſition he met with, to reſign his plan, and retreat before winter into the electorate of Saxony.

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§ IX. The Pruſſian army having rejoined that body which had been left to block up the Saxons at Pirna, his Poliſh Majeſty and his troops were reduced to ſuch extremity of want, that it became indiſpenſably neceſſary either to attempt an eſcape, or ſurrender to the King of Pruſſia. The former part of the alternative was choſen, and the plan concerted with Count Brown, the Auſtrian General, who, in order to facilitate the execution, advanced

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privately with a body of troops to Lichtendorf, near Schandeau; but the junction could not be effected. On the fourteenth day of October the Saxons threw a bridge of boats over the Elbe, near Konigſtein, to which caſtle they removed all their artillery; then ſtriking their tents in the night, paſſed the river undiſcovered by the enemy. They continued to retreat with all poſſible expedition; but the roads were ſo bad, they made little progreſs. Next day, when part of them had advanced about half way up a hill oppoſite to Konigſtein, and the reſt were entangled in a narrow plain, where there was no room to act, they perceived that the Pruſſians were in poſſeſſion of all the paſſes, and found themſelves ſurrounded on every ſide, fainting with hunger and fatigue, and deſtitute of every convenience. In this deplorable condition they remained, when the King of Poland, from the fortreſs of Konigſtein, ſent a letter to his General, the Veldt-Mareſchal Count Rutowſki, veſting him with full and diſcretionary power to ſurrender, or take ſuch other meaſures as he ſhould judge moſt conducive to the preſervation of the officers and ſoldiers*. By this time Count Brown had retired to

* The letter was to the following effect:

"Veldt-Mareſchal Count Rutowſki,

"It is not without extreme ſorrow I underſtand the deplorable ſituation, which a chain of misfortunes has reſerved for you, the reſt of my Generals, and my whole army; but we muſt acquieſce in the diſpenſations of Providence, and conſole ourſelves with the rectitude of our ſentiments and intentions. They would force me, it ſeems, as you give me to underſtand by Major-General the Baron de Dyherrn, to ſubmit to conditions the more ſevere, in proportion as the circumſtances become more neceſſitous. I cannot hear them mentioned. I am a free Monarch; ſuch I will live; ſuch I will die; and I will both live and die with honour. The fate of my army I leave wholly to your diſcretion. Let your Council of War determine whether you muſt ſurrender priſoners of war, fall by the ſword, or die by famine. May your reſolutions, if poſſible, be conducted by humanity: whatever they may be, I have no longer any ſhare in them: and I declare you ſhall not be anſwerable for aught but one thing, namely, not to carry arms againſt me or my allies. I pray God may have you, Mr. Mareſchal, in his holy keeping. Given at Konigſtein, the 14th of October, 1756.

"AUGUSTUS, Rex."

"To the Veldt-Mareſchal the Count Rutowſki."

Budin,

Budin, ſo that there was no choice left. A capitulation was demanded: but, in effect, the whole Saxon army was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion: and the ſoldiers were afterwards, by compulſion, incorporated with the troops of Pruſſia. The King of Poland being thus deprived of his electoral dominions, his troops, arms, artillery, and ammunition, thought it high time to provide for his own ſafety, and retired with all expedition to Poland. His Pruſſian Majeſty cantoned his forces in the neighbourhood of Seidlitz, and along the Elbe towards Dreſden. His other army, which had entered Bohemia, under the command of the Count de Ichwerin, retired to the confines of the county of Glatz, where they were diſtributed in quarters of cantonment; ſo that this ſhort campaign was finiſhed by the beginning of November. CHAP. VI. 1756.

§ X. The King of Poland, in his diſtreſs, did not fail to implore the aſſiſtance and mediation of neutral powers. His miniſter at the Hague, preſented a memorial to the States-General, complaining, that the invaſion of Saxony was one of thoſe attacks againſt the law of nations, which, from the great reſpect due to this law, demanded the aſſiſtance of every power intereſted in the preſervation of its own liberty and independency. He obſerved, that from the firſt glimpſe of miſunderſtanding between the Courts of Vienna and Berlin, he had expreſsly enjoined his miniſters at all the Courts of Europe to declare, that it was his firm reſolution, in the preſent conjuncture of affairs, to obſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality. He repreſented that a free and neutral ſtate had been, in the midſt of peace, invaded by an enemy, who diſguiſed himſelf under the maſque of friendſhip, without alledging the leaſt complaint, or any pretenſion whatſoever; but founding himſelf ſolely on his own convenience, made himſelf maſter, by armed force, of all the cities and towns of the electorate, diſmantling ſome, and fortifying others:

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that he had diſarmed the Burghers; carried off the Magiſtrates as hoſtages for the payment of unjuſt and enormous contributions of proviſions and forage; ſeized the coffers, confiſcated the revenues of the Electorate, broke open the arſenals, and tranſported the arms and artillery to his own town of Magdeburgh; aboliſhed the Privy-council, and, inſtead of the lawful government, eſtabliſhed a directory, which acknowledged no other law but his own arbitrary will. He gave them to underſtand, that all theſe proceedings were no other than preliminaries to the unheard-of treatment which was reſerved for a Queen, whoſe virtues ought to have commanded reſpect, even from her enemies: that, from the hands of that auguſt princeſs, the archives of the ſtate were forced away by menaces and violences, notwithſtanding the ſecurity which her Majeſty had promiſed herſelf under the protection of all laws, human and divine; and notwithſtanding the repeated aſſurances given by the King of Pruſſia, that not only her perſon, and the place of her reſidence, ſhould be abſolutely ſafe, but that even the Pruſſian garriſon ſhould be under her direction. He obſerved, that a Prince who declared himſelf protector of the Proteſtant religion had begun the war, by cruſhing the very ſtate to which that religion owes its eſtabliſhment, and the preſervation of its moſt invaluable rights; that he had broke through the moſt reſpectable laws which conſtitute the union of the Germanick body, under colour of a defence which the Empire ſtood in no need of except againſt himſelf: that the King of Pruſſia, while he inſiſts on having entered Saxony as a friend, demands his army, the adminiſtration of his dominions, and, in a word, the ſacrifice of his whole electorate; and that the Pruſſian directory, in the declaration of motives, publiſhed under the noſe of a Prince to whom friendſhip was pretended, thought it ſuperfluous to alledge even any pretext, to colour the uſurpation of his territories

territories and revenues—Though this was certainly the caſe, in his Pruſſian Majeſty's firſt expoſition of motives, the omiſſion was afterwards ſupplied, in a ſubſequent memorial to the States-General; in which he charged the King of Poland, as an accomplice in, if not an acceſſary to, the treaty of Peterſburgh; and even taxed him with having agreed to a partition of ſome Pruſſian territories, when they ſhould be conquered. This treaty of partition, however, appears to have been made in time of actual war, before all cauſe of diſpute was removed by the peace of Dreſden. CHAP. VI. 1756.

§ XI. While the Auſtrian and Pruſſian armies were in the field, their reſpective Miniſters were not idle at Ratiſbon, where three Imperial decrees were publiſhed againſt his Pruſſian Majeſty: the firſt, ſummoning that prince to withdraw his troops from the electorate of Saxony: the ſecond, commanding all the vaſſals of the Empire employed by the King of Pruſſia to quit that ſervice immediately; and the third, forbidding the Members of the Empire to ſuffer any levies of ſoldiers, for the Pruſſian ſervice, to be raiſed within their reſpective juriſdictions. The French miniſter declared to the Diet, that the proceedings of his Pruſſian Majeſty having diſcloſed to the world the project concerted between that prince and the King of England, to excite in the Empire a religious war, which might be favourable to their particular views, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in conſequence of his engagement with the Empreſs-Queen, and many other princes of the Empire, being reſolved to ſuccour them in the moſt efficacious manner, would forthwith ſend ſuch a number of troops to their aid, as might be thought neceſſary to preſerve the liberty of the Germanick body. On the other hand, the Pruſſian Miniſter aſſured the Diet, that his maſter would very ſoon produce the proofs that were come to his hands of the plan concerted by the Courts of Vienna and Dreſden, for the

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ſubverſion of his electoral houſe, and for impoſing upon him a yoke, which ſeemed to threaten the whole Empire.

§ XII. About the ſame time, the Ruſſian reſident at the Hague communicated to the States-General a declaration from his miſtreſs, importing, that her Imperial Majeſty having ſeen a memorial preſented at the Court of Vienna by the King of Pruſſia's Envoy Extraordinary, was thereby convinced that his Pruſſian Majeſty's intention was to attack the territories of the Empreſs-Queen; in which caſe, ſhe (the Czarina) was inevitably obliged to ſuccour her ally with all her forces; for which end ſhe had ordered all her troops in Livonia to be forthwith aſſembled on the frontiers, and hold themſelves in readineſs to march: that, moreover, the Ruſſian Admiralty had been enjoined to provide immediately a ſufficient number of gallies for tranſporting a large body of troops to Lubeck. The miniſters of of the Empreſs-Queen, both at the Hague and at London, delivered memorials to the States-General and his Britannick Majeſty, demanding the ſuccours which theſe two powers were bound to afford the Houſe of Auſtria by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but their High Mightineſſes kept warily aloof, by dint of evaſion, and the King of Great-Britain was far otherwiſe engaged. The invaſion of Saxony had well nigh produced tragedies in the Royal family of France. The Dauphineſs, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, no ſooner learned the diſtreſsful circumſtances of her parents, the King and Queen of Poland, than ſhe was ſeized with violent fits which occaſioned a miſcarriage, and brought her life into the moſt imminent danger. The Pruſſian Miniſter was immediately ordered to quit Verſailles; and directions were diſpatched to the French Miniſter at Berlin, to retire from that Court without taking leave. Finally, the Emperor of Germany concluded a new convention with the French King, regulating

gulating the ſucoours to be derived from that quarter: he claimed, in all the uſual forms, the aſſiſtance of the Germanick body, as guarantee of the pragmatick ſanction and treaty of Dreſden; and Sweden was alſo addreſſed on the ſame ſubject. CHAP. VI. 1756.

§ XIII. The King of Pruſſia did not paſſively bear all the imputations that were fixed upon his conduct. His miniſter at the Hague preſented a memorial, in anſwer to that of the Saxon reſident, in which he accuſed the Court of Dreſden of having adopted every part of the ſcheme which his enemies had formed for his deſtruction. He affirmed that the Saxon Miniſters had, in all the courts of Europe, played off every engine of unwarrantable politicks, in order to pave the way for the execution of their project: that they had endeavoured to give an odious turn to his moſt innocent actions: that they had ſpared neither malicious inſinuations, nor even the moſt atrocious calumnies, to alienate all the world from his Majeſty, and raiſe up enemies againſt him every where. He ſaid, he had received information that the Court of Saxony intended to let his troops paſs freely, and afterwards wait for events of which they might avail themſelves, either by joining his enemies, or making a diverſion in his dominions: that in ſuch a ſituation he could not avoid having recourſe to the only means which were left him for preventing his inevitable ruin, by putting it out of the power of Saxony to increaſe the number of his enemies. He aſſerted, that all the meaſures he had purſued in that electorate were but the neceſſary conſequences of the firſt reſolution he was forced to take for his own preſervation: that he had done nothing but deprived the Court of Saxony of the means of hurting him; and this had been done with all poſſible moderation: that the country enjoyed all the ſecurity and all the quiet which could be expected in the very midſt of peace, the Pruſſian troops obſerving the moſt exact diſcipline: that all due reſpect

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was ſhewn to the Queen of Poland, who had been prevailed upon, by the moſt ſuitable repreſentations, to ſuffer ſome papers to be taken from the Paper-Office, of which his Pruſſian Majeſty already had copies; and thought it neceſſary, to aſcertain the dangerous deſign of the Saxon Miniſtry againſt him, to ſecure the originals; the exiſtence and reality of which might otherwiſe have been denied. He obſerved, that every man has a right to prevent the miſchief with which he is threatened, and to retort it upon its author; and that neither the conſtitutions nor the laws of the empire could obſtruct the exertion of a right ſo ſuperior to all others as that of ſelf-preſervation and ſelf-defence; eſpecially when the depoſitory of theſe laws is ſo cloſely united to the enemy, as manifeſtly to abuſe his power in her favour.

§ XIV. But the moſt important ſtep which his Pruſſian Majeſty took in his own juſtification, was that of publiſhing another memorial, ſpecifying the conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony, and their dangerous deſigns againſt his perſon and intereſt, together with the original documents adduced as proofs of theſe ſiniſter intentions. As a knowledge of theſe pieces is requiſite to form a diſtinct idea of the motives which produced the dreadful war upon the continent, it will not be amiſs to uſher the ſubſtance of them to the reader's acquaintance. His Pruſſian Majeſty affirms, that to arrive at the ſource of the vaſt plan upon which the Courts of Vienna and Saxony had been employed againſt him ever ſince the peace of Dreſden, we muſt trace it as far back as the war which preceded this peace: that the fond hopes whch the two allied courts had conceived upon the ſucceſs of the campaign in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-four, gave occaſion to a treaty of eventual partition, ſtipulating that the Court of Vienna ſhould poſſeſs the duchy of Sileſia and the county of Glatz; while the King of Poland,

Poland, Elector of Saxony, ſhould ſhare the duchies of Magdeburgh and Croiſſen; the circles of Zullichow and Swibus, together with the Pruſſian part of Luſatia: that after the peace of Dreſden, concluded in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-five, there was no further room for a treaty of this nature: yet the Court of Vienna propoſed to that of Saxony a new alliance, in which the treaty of eventual partition ſhould be renewed: but this laſt thought it neceſſary, in the firſt place, to give a greater conſiſtency to their plan, by grounding it upon an alliance between the Empreſs-Queen and the Czarina. Accordingly, theſe two powers did, in fact, conclude a defenſive alliance at Peterſburgh in the courſe of the enſuing year: but the body, or oſtenſible part of this treaty, was compoſed merely with a view to conceal from the knowledge of the publick ſix ſecret articles, the fourth of which was levelled ſingly againſt Pruſſia, according to the exact copy of it, which appeared among the documents. In this article, the Empreſs-Queen of Hungary and Bohemia ſets out with a proteſtation, that ſhe will religiouſly obſerve the treaty of Dreſden: but explains her real way of thinking upon the ſubject a little lower, in the following terms: "If the King "of Pruſſia ſhould be the firſt to depart from this "peace, by attacking either her Majeſty the Em-"preſs-Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, or her "Majeſty the Empreſs of Ruſſia, or even the Re-"publick of Poland; in all theſe caſes, the rights "of the Empreſs-Queen to Sileſia, and the county "of Glatz would again take place, and recover "their full effect: the two contracting parties "ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other with ſixty thou-"ſand men to atchieve theſe conqueſts." The King obſerves upon this article, that every war which can ariſe between him and Ruſſia, or the Republick of Poland, would be looked upon as a manifeſt infraction of the peace of Dreſden, and a revival

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revival of the rights of the House of Austria to Silesia; though neither Russia nor the Republick of Poland is at all concerned in the treaty of Dresden; and though the latter, with which the King lived in the most intimate friendship, was not even in alliance with the Court of Vienna: that, according to the principles of the law of nature, received among all civilized nations, the most the Court of Vienna could be authorised to do in such cases, would be to send those succours to her allies which are due to them by treaties, without her having the least pretence on that account, to free herself from the particular engagements subsisting between her and the King: he appealed, therefore, to the judgment of the impartial world, whether in this secret article the contracting powers had kept within the bounds of a defensive alliance; or whether this article did not rather contain a plan of an offensive alliance against the King of Prussia. He affirmed it was obvious, from this article, that the Court of Vienna had prepared three pretences for the recovery of Silesia; and that she thought to attain her end, either by provoking the King to commence hostilities against her, or to kindle a war between his Majesty and Russia, by her secret intrigues and machinations: he alledged that the Court of Saxony, being invited to accede to this alliance, eagerly accepted the invitation; furnished its ministers at Petersburgh with full powers for that purpose; and ordered them to declare that their master was not only ready to accede to the treaty itself, but also to the secret article against Prussia; and to join in the regulations made by the two Courts, provided effectual measures should be taken, as well for the security of Saxony, as for its indemnification and recompence, in proportion to the efforts and progress that might be made: that the Court of Dresden declared, if upon any fresh attack from the King of Prussia, the Empress-Queen should, by their assistance, not only reconquer

reconquer Silesia, and the county of Glatz, but also reduce him within narrow bounds, the King of Poland, as Elector of Saxony, would abide by the partition formerly stipulated between him and the Empress-Queen. He also declared that Count Loss, the Saxon Minister at Vienna, was charged to open a private negociation for settling an eventual partition of the conquest which might be made on Prussia, by laying down, as the basis of it, the treaty of Leipsick, signed on the eighteenth day of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, as would appear by the documents affixed. He owned it had been supposed, through the whole of this negociation, that the King of Prussia should be the aggressor against the Court of Vienna; but he insisted, that even in this case the King of Poland could have no right to make conquests on his Prussian Majesty. He likewise acknowledged, that the Court of Saxony had not yet acceded in form to the treaty of Petersburgh; but he observed, its allies were given to understand again and again, that it was ready to accede without restriction, whenever this could be done without risque; and the advantages to be gained should be secured in its favour: circumstances proved by divers authentick documents, particularly by a letter from Count Fleming to Count de Bruhl, informing him that Count Uhlefield had charged him to represent afresh to his court, that they could not take too secure measures against the ambitious views of the King of Prussia; that Saxony, in particular, ought to be cautious, as being the most exposed: that it was of the highest importance to strengthen their old engagements, upon the footing proposed by the late Count de Harrach, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five; a step which might be taken on accasion of his Polish Majesty's accession to the treaty of Petersburgh. The answer of Count Bruhl to this dispatch imported, That the King of Poland was

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not averſe to treat in the utmoſt ſecrecy with the Court of Vienna about ſuccours, by private and confidential declarations relating to the fourth ſecret article of the treaty of Peterſburgh, on condition of reaſonable terms and advantages, which in this caſe ought to be granted to his Majeſty. He quoted other diſpatches to prove the unwillingneſs of his Poliſh Majeſty to declare himſelf until the King of Pruſſia ſhould be attacked, and his forces divided; and that this ſcruple was admitted by the allies of Saxony. From theſe premiſes he deduced this inference, that the Court of Dreſden, without having acceded in form to the treaty of Peterſburgh, was not leſs an accomplice in the dangerous deſigns which the Court of Vienna had grounded upon this treaty; and that having been diſpenſed with from a formal concurrence, it had only waited for that moment when it might, without running any great riſque, conquer in effect, and ſhare the ſpoils of its neighbour. In expectation of this period, he ſaid, the Auſtrian and Saxon Miniſters laboured in concert and underhand with the more ardour, to bring the *Caſus Fœderis* into exiſtence; for it being laid down as a principle in the treaty, that any war whatever between him and Ruſſia would authoriſe the Empreſs-Queen to take Sileſia, there was nothing more to be done but to kindle ſuch a war; for which purpoſe no method was found more proper than that of embroiling the King with the Empreſs of Ruſſia; and to provoke that Princeſs with all ſorts of falſe inſinuations, impoſtures, and the moſt atrocious calumnies, in laying to his Majeſty's charge a variety of deſigns, ſometimes againſt Ruſſia, and even the perſon of the Czarina; ſometimes views upon Poland, and ſometimes intrigues in Sweden. By theſe and other ſuch contrivances, he affirmed they had kindled the animoſity of the Empreſs to ſuch a degree, that in a council held in the month of October, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-three, ſhe had reſolved to attack the King of Pruſſia,

Pruſſia, without any further diſcuſſion, whether he ſhould fall upon any of the allies of Ruſſia, or one of them ſhould begin with him: a reſolution which for that time was fruſtrated by their want of ſeamen and magazines; but the preparations were continued under pretence of keeping themſelves in a condition to fulfil their engagements, contracted in the laſt ſubſidiary convention with England; and when all were finiſhed, the ſtorm would fall on the King of Pruſſia. CHAP. VI. 1756.

§ XV. This is the ſubſtance of that famous memorial publiſhed by his Pruſſian Majeſty, to which the juſtifying pieces or authentick documents were annexed; and to which a circumſtantial anſwer was exhibited by the partiſans of her Imperial Majeſty. Specious reaſons may, doubtleſs, be adduced on either ſide of almoſt any diſpute, by writers of ingenuity: but, in examining this conteſt, it muſt be allowed, that both ſides adopted illicit practices. The Empreſs-Queen and the Elector of Saxony had certainly a right to form defenſive treaties for their own preſervation; and without all doubt, it was their intereſt and their duty to ſecure themſelves from the enterpriſes of ſuch a formidable neighbour: but, at the ſame time, the contracting parties ſeem to have carried their views much farther than defenſive meaſures. Perhaps the Court of Vienna conſidered the ceſſion of Sileſia as a circumſtance altogether compulſive, and, therefore, not binding againſt the rights of natural equity. She did not at all doubt that the King of Pruſſia would be tempted by his ambition and great warlike power, to take ſome ſtep which might be juſtly interpreted into an infraction of the treaty of Dreſden; and in that caſe ſhe was determined to avail herſelf of the confederacy ſhe had formed, that ſhe might retrieve the countries ſhe had loſt by the unfortunate events of the laſt war, as well as bridle the dangerous power and diſpoſition of the Pruſſian Monarch: and, in all probability,

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bability, the King of Poland, over and above the ſame conſideration, was deſirous of ſome indemnification for the laſt irruption into his electoral dominions, and the great ſums he had paid for the ſubſequent peace. Whether they were authoriſed by the law of nature and nations to make repriſals by an actual partition of the countries they might conquer, ſuppoſing him to be the aggreſſor, we ſhall not pretend to determine: but it does not at all appear, that his Pruſſian Majeſty's danger was ſuch as entitled him to take thoſe violent ſteps which he now attempted to juſtify. By this time the flame of war was kindled up to a blaze that ſoon filled the empire with ruin and deſolation; and the King of Pruſſia had drawn upon himſelf the reſentment of the three greateſt powers in Europe, who laid aſide their former animoſities, and every conſideration of that balance which it had coſt ſuch blood and treaſure to preſerve, in order to conſpire his deſtruction. The King himſelf could not but foreſee this confederacy, and know the power it might exert: but probably he confided ſo much in the number, the valour, and diſcipline of his troops; in the ſkill of his officers; in his own conduct and activity; that he hoped to cruſh the Houſe of Auſtria by one rapid endeavour at the latter end of the ſeaſon, or at leaſt eſtabliſh himſelf in Bohemia, before her allies could move to her aſſiſtance. In this hope, however, he was diſappointed by the vigilance of the Auſtrian councils. He found the Empreſs-Queen in a condition to make head againſt him in every avenue to her dominions; and in a fair way of being aſſiſted by the circles of the Empire. He ſaw himſelf threatened with the vengeance of the Ruſſian Empreſs, and the ſword of France gleaming over his head, without any proſpect of aſſiſtance but that which he might derive from his alliance with Great-Britain. Thus the King of England exchanged the alliance of Ruſſia, who was his ſubſidiary, and the friendſhip of the Empreſs-

Empreſs-Queen, his old and natural ally, for a new connection with his Pruſſian Majeſty, who could neither act as an auxiliary to Great-Britain, nor as a protector to Hanover; and for this connection, the advantage of which was merely negative, ſuch a price was paid by England as had never been given by any other Potentate of Europe, even for ſervices of the greateſt importance. CHAP. VI. 1756.

§ XVI. About the latter end of November, the Saxon Miniſter at Ratiſbon delivered to the Diet a new and ample memorial, explaining the lamentable ſtate of that electorate, and imploring afreſh the aſſiſtance of the empire. The King of Pruſſia had alſo addreſſed a letter to the Diet, demanding ſuccour of the ſeveral States, agreeably to their guarantees of the treaties of Weſtphalia and Dreſden: but the Miniſter of Mentz, as director of the Diet, having refuſed to lay it before that aſſembly, the Miniſter of Brandenburgh, ordered it to be printed, and ſent to his Court for further inſtructions. In the mean time his Pruſſian Majeſty thought proper to intimate to the King and Senate of Poland, that ſhould the Ruſſian troops be permitted to march through that kingdom, they might expect to ſee their country made a ſcene of war and deſolation. In France, the proſpect of a general and ſanguinary war did not at all allay the diſturbance which ſprang from the diſſenſion between the Clergy and Parliament, touching the bull Unigenitus. The King being again brought over to the eccleſiaſtical ſide of the diſpute, received a brief from the Pope, laying it down as a fundamental article, that whoſoever refuſes to ſubmit to the bull Unigenitus is in the way of damnation: and certain caſes are ſpecified, in which the ſacraments are to be denied. The Parliament of Paris, conſidering this brief or bull as a direct attack upon the rights of the Gallican church, iſſued an arret or decree, ſuppreſſing the ſaid bull; reſerving to themſelves the right of providing againſt the

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the inconveniencies with which it might be attended, as well as the privilege to maintain in their full force the prerogatives of the Crown, the power and juriſdiction of the Biſhops, the liberties of the Gallican church, and the cuſtoms of the realm. The King, diſſatisfied with their interpoſition, declared his deſign to hold a bed of juſtice in perſon at the palace. Accordingly, on the 12th day of November, the whole body of his guards, amounting to ten thouſand men, took poſt in the city of Paris: and next day the King repaired with the uſual ceremony to the palace, where the bed of juſtice was held: among other regulations, an edict was iſſued for ſuppreſſing the fourth and fifth chambers of inqueſts, the members of which had remarkably diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their oppoſition to the bull Unigenitus.

§ XVII. In England, the dearth of corn, ariſing in a great meaſure from the iniquitous practice of engroſſing, was ſo ſeverely felt by the common people, that inſurrections were raiſed in Shropſhire and Warwickſhire by the populace, in conjunction with the colliers, who ſeized by violence all the proviſion they could find; pillaging without diſtinction the millers, farmers, grocers, and butchers, until they were diſperſed by the gentlemen of the country, at the heads of their tenants and dependants. Diſorders of the ſame nature were excited by the colliers on the foreſt of Dean, and thoſe employed in the works in Cumberland. The corporations, noblemen, and gentlemen, in different parts of the kingdom, exerted themſelves for the relief of the poor, who were greatly diſtreſſed; and a grand council being aſſembled at St. James's on the ſame ſubject, a proclamation was publiſhed, for putting the laws in ſpeedy and effectual execution againſt the foreſtallers and engroſſers of corn.

§ XVIII. The fear of an invaſion having now ſubſided, and Hanover being ſuppoſed in greater danger

danger than Great-Britain, the auxiliaries of that electorate were transported from England to their own country. At the latter end of the season, when the weather became severe, the innkeepers of England refused to admit the Hessian soldiers into winter-quarters, as no provision had been made for that purpose by act of Parliament; so that they were obliged to hut their camp, and remain in the open fields till January: but the rigour of this uncomfortable situation, was softened by the hand of generous charity, which liberally supplied them with all manner of refreshment, and other conveniencies; an humane interposition, which rescued the national character from the imputation of cruelty and ingratitude. CHAP. VI. 1756.

§ XIX. On the second day of December, his Majesty opened the session of Parliament with a speech that seemed to be dictated by the genius of England. He expressed his confidence, that, under the guidance of Divine Providence, the union, fortitude, and affection of his people would enable him to surmount all difficulties, and vindicate the dignity of his crown against the ancient enemy of Great-Britain. He declared, that the succour and preservation of America constituted a main object of his attention and solicitude; and observed, that the growing dangers to which the British colonies might stand exposed, from late losses in that country, demanded resolutions of vigour and dispatch. He said, an adequate and firm defence at home should maintain the chief place in his thoughts; and in this great view he had nothing so much at heart as to remove all grounds of dissatisfaction from his people: for this end, he recommended to the care and diligence of the Parliament the framing of a national militia, planned and regulated with equal regard to the just rights of his crown and people; an institution which might become one good resource in time of general danger. He took notice that the unna-

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tural union of councils abroad, the calamities which, in consequence of this unhappy conjunction, might, by irruptions of foreign armies into the empire, shake its constitution, overturn its system, and threaten oppression to the Protestant interest on the continent, were events which must sensibly affect the minds of the British nation, and had fixed the eyes of Europe on this new and dangerous crisis. He gave them to understand that the body of his electoral troops, which were brought hither at the desire of his Parliament, he had now directed to return to his dominions in Germany, relying with pleasure on the spirit and zeal of his people, in defence of his person and realm. He told the Commons that he confided in their wisdom, for preferring more vigorous efforts, though more expensive, to a less effectual, and therefore less frugal plan of war; that he had placed before them the dangers and necessities of the publick; and it was their duty to lay the burthens they should judge unavoidable in such a manner as would least disturb and exhaust his people. He expressed his concern for the sufferings of the poor, arising from the present dearth of corn, and for the disturbances to which it had given rise; and exhorted his Parliament to consider of proper provisions for preventing the like mischiefs hereafter. He concluded with remarking, that unprosperous events of war in the Mediterranean, had drawn from his subjects signal proofs how dearly they tendered the honour of his crown; therefore, they could not, on his part, fail to meet with just returns of unwearied care, and unceasing endeavours for the glory, prosperity, and happiness of his people.

§ XX. The King having retired from the House of Peers, the speech was read by Lord Sandys, appointed to act as Speaker to that House; then Earl Gower moved for an address, which, however, was not carried without objection. In one part of it his Majesty was thanked for having caused a body of electoral

electoral troops to come into England at the requeſt of his Parliament; and this article was diſagreeable to thoſe who had diſapproved of the requeſt in the laſt ſeſſion. They ſaid they wiſhed to ſee the preſent addreſs unanimouſly agreed to by the Lords; a ſatisfaction they could not have, if ſuch a paragraph ſhould be inſerted: for they ſtill thought the bringing over Hanoverian troops a prepoſterous meaſure; becauſe it had not only loaded the nation with an enormous expence, but alſo furniſhed the Court of France with a plauſible pretence for invading the electorate, which otherwiſe it would have no ſhadow of reaſon to attack; beſides, the expedient was held in reprobation by the ſubjects in general, and ſuch a paragraph might be conſidered as an inſult on the people. Notwithſtanding theſe exceptions, which did not ſeem to be very important, the addreſs, including this paragraph, was approved by a great majority. CHAP VI. 1756.

§ XXI. In the addreſs of the Commons no ſuch paragraph was inſerted. As ſoon as the Speaker had recited his Majeſty's ſpeech, Mr. C. Townſhend propoſed the heads of an addreſs, to which the Houſe unanimouſly agreed; and it was preſented accordingly. This neceſſary form was no ſooner diſcuſſed, than the Houſe, with a warmth of humanity and benevolence ſuitable to ſuch an aſſembly, reſolved itſelf into a committee, to deliberate on that part of his Majeſty's ſpeech which related to the dearth of corn that ſo much diſtreſſed the poorer claſs of people. A bill was immediately framed to prohibit, for a time limited, the exportation of corn, malt, meal, flour, bread, biſcuit, and ſtarch; and a reſolution unanimouſly taken to addreſs the Sovereign, that an embargo might be forthwith laid upon all ſhips laden or to be laden with theſe commodities to be exported from the ports of Great-Britain and Ireland. At the ſame time, Vice-Admiral Boſcawen, from the Board of Admiralty, informed the

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House, that the King and the Board having been dissatisfied with the conduct of Admiral Byng, in a late action with the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and for the appearance of his not having acted agreeably to his instructions for the relief of Minorca, he was then in custody of the Marshal of the Admiralty, in order to be tried by a court-martial: that although this was no more than what was usual in like cases, yet as Admiral Byng was then a member of the House, and as his confinement might detain him some time from his duty there, the Board of Admiralty thought it a respect due to the House to inform them of the commitment and detainer of the said Admiral. This message being delivered, the journal of the House in relation to Rear-Admiral Knowles* was read, and what Mr. Boscawen now communicated was also inserted.

§ XXII. The committees of supply, and of ways and means, being appointed, took into consideration the necessities of the state, and made very ample

* Rear-Admiral Knowles being, in the month of December, one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, tried at Deptford, before a court-martial, for his behaviour in and relating to an action which happened on the first day of October in the preceding year, between a British squadron under his command, and a squadron of Spain, the Court was unanimously of opinion, that the said Knowles, while he was standing for the enemy, might, by a different disposition of his squadron have begun the attack with six ships as early in the day as four of them were engaged; and that, therefore, by his neglecting so to do, he gave the enemy a manifest advantage: that the said Knowles remained on board the ship Cornwall with his flag, after she was disabled from continuing the action, though he might, upon her being disabled, have shifted his flag on board another ship; and the Court were unanimously of opinion, he ought to have done so, in order to have conducted and directed, during the whole action, the motions of the squadron entrusted to his care and conduct. Upon consideration of the whole conduct of the said Knowles, relating to that action, the Court did unanimously agree that he fell under part of the fourteenth article of the Articles of War, namely, the word Negligence, and no other; and also under the twenty-third article.—The Court, therefore, unanimously adjudged, that he should be reprimanded for not bringing up the squadron in closer order than he did, and not beginning the attack with as great force as he might have done; and also for not shifting his flag, upon the Cornwall's being disabled.

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proviſion for enabling his Majeſty to maintain the war with vigour. They granted fifty-five thouſand men for the ſea-ſervice, including eleven thouſand four hundred and nineteen marines; and for the land-ſervice, forty-nine thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-nine effective men, comprehending four thouſand and eight invalids. The ſupply was granted for the maintenance of theſe forces, as well as for the troops of Heſſe and Hanover; for the Ordnance; the levy of new regiments; for aſſiſting his Majeſty in forming and maintaining an army of obſervation, for the juſt and neceſſary defence and preſervation of his electoral dominions, and thoſe of his allies; and towards enabling him to fulfil his engagements with the King of Pruſſia; for the ſecurity of the empire againſt the irruption of foreign * armies, as well as for the ſupport of the common cauſe; for building and repairs of ſhips, hiring tranſports, payment of half-pay officers, and the penſions of widows; for enabling his Majeſty to diſcharge the like ſum, raiſed in purſuance of an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, and charged upon the firſt aids or ſupplies to be granted in this ſeſſion, for enabling the governors and guardians of the hoſpital for the maintenance and education of expoſed and deſerted young children, to receive all ſuch children, under a certain age, as ſhould be brought to the ſaid hoſpital within the compaſs of one year †; for maintaining and ſupporting the new ſettlement of Nova-Scotia;

* Nothing could more gloriouſly evince the generoſity of a Britiſh Parliament than this interpoſition for defending the liberties of Germany, in conjunction with two Electors only, againſt the ſenſe of the other ſeven, and in direct oppoſition to the meaſures taken by the Head of the Empire, who, in the ſequel, ſtigmatiſed theſe two Princes as rebels, and treated one of them as an outlaw.

† This charity, eſtabliſhed by voluntary contribution, might, under proper reſtrictions, prove beneficial to the commonwealth, by reſcuing deſerted children from miſery and death, and qualifying them for being ſerviceable members of the community; but ſince the liberality of Parliament hath enabled the governors and corporation to receive all the children that are preſented, without queſtion or limitation, the yearly expence hath ſwelled into a national grievance, and the humane

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Scotia; for repairing and finiſhing military roads; for making good his Majeſty's engagement with the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel; for the expence of marching, recruiting, and remounting German troops in the pay of Great Britain; for empowering his Majeſty to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be incurred for the ſervice of the enſuing year, and to take all ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary to diſappoint or defeat any enterpriſes, or deſigns of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs ſhould require; for the payment of ſuch perſons, in ſuch a manner as his Majeſty ſhould direct; for the uſe and relief of his ſubjects in the ſeveral provinces of North and South Carolina and Virginia, in recompence for ſuch ſervices as, with the approbation of his Majeſty's Commander in chief in America, they reſpectively had performed, or ſhould perform, either by putting theſe provinces in a ſtate of defence, or by acting with vigour againſt the enemy; for enabling the Eaſt-India Company to defray the expence of a military force in their ſettlements, to be maintained in them, in lieu of a battalion of his Majeſty's forces withdrawn from thoſe forts and factories; for the maintenance and ſupport of the forts on the coaſt of Africa; for widening the avenues, and rendering more ſafe and commodious the ſtreets and paſſages leading from Charing-croſs to the two Houſes of Parliament, the Courts of Juſtice, and the new Bridge at Weſtminſter*.

Such

purpoſes of the original inſtitution are, in a great meaſure, defeated. Inſtead of an aſylum for poor forlorn orphans and abandoned foundlings, it is become a general receptacle for the offspring of the diſſolute, who care not to work for the maintenance of their families. The hoſpital itſelf is a plain edifice, well contrived for œconomy and convenience, ſtanding on the north ſide of the city, and a little detached from it, in an agreeable and ſalubrious ſituation. The hall is adorned with ſome good paintings, the chapel is elegant, and the regulations are admirable.

* The bridge at Weſtminſter may be conſidered as a national ornament. It was built at the publick expence, from the neighbourhood

Such were the articles under which we may ſpecify the ſupplies of this year, on the whole amounting to eight millions three hundred fifty thouſand three hundred and twenty-five pounds, nine ſhillings, and three pence. It muſt be acknowledged, for the honour of the Adminiſtration, that the Houſe of Commons could not have exhibited ſtronger marks of their attachment to the crown and perſon of their Sovereign, as well as of their deſire to ſee the force of the nation exerted with becoming ſpirit. The ſums granted by the committee of ſupply did not exceed eight millions three hundred fifty thouſand three hundred twenty-five pounds, nine ſhillings, and three pence; the funds eſtabliſhed amounted to eight millions ſix hundred eighty-nine thouſand fifty-one pounds, nineteen ſhillings, and ſeven pence; ſo that there was an overplus of three hundred thirty-eight thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-ſix pounds, ten ſhillings, and four pence; an exceſs which was thought neceſſary, in caſe the lottery, which was founded on a new plan, ſhould not ſucceed. CHAP. VI. 1757.

§ XXIII. Some of theſe impoſitions were deemed grievous hardſhips by thoſe upon whom they immediately fell; and many friends of their country exclaimed againſt the projected army of obſervation in Germany, as the commencement of a ruinous continental war, which it was neither the intereſt of the nation to undertake, nor in their power to maintain, without ſtarving the operations by ſea, and in America, founded on Britiſh principles; without contracting ſuch an additional load of debts and taxes, as could not fail to terminate in bankruptcy and diſtreſs. To thoſe dependants of the miniſtry, who obſerved that as Hanover was threatened by France for its connection with Great-Britain, it ought, in common gratitude, to be protected, they replied,

hood of Weſtminſter Hall to the oppoſite ſide of the river, and conſiſts of thirteen arches, conſtructed with equal elegance and ſimplicity.

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the deteſted neighbourhood of ſuch an enterpriſing invader. CHAP. VI.

§ XXIV. The article of the ſupply relating to the army of obſervation took riſe from a meſſage ſigned by his Majeſty, and preſented by Mr. Pitt, now promoted to the office of Principal Secretary of State; a gentleman who had, upon ſundry occaſions, combated the gigantick plan of continental connections with all the ſtrength of reaſon, and all the powers of eloquence. He now imparted to the Houſe an intimation, importing, It was always with reluctance that his Majeſty aſked extraordinary ſupplies of his people; but as the united councils, and formidable preparations of France and her allies threatened Europe in general with the moſt alarming conſequence; and as theſe unjuſt and vindictive deſigns were particularly and immediately bent againſt his Majeſty's electoral dominions, and thoſe of his good ally, the King of Pruſſia, his Majeſty confided in the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, that they would chearfully aſſiſt him in forming and maintaining an army of obſervation, for the juſt and neceſſary defence and preſervation of thoſe territories, and enable him to fulfil his engagements with his Pruſſian Majeſty, for the ſecurity of the Empire againſt the irruption of foreign armies, and for the ſupport of the common cauſe. Poſterity will hardly believe, that the Emperor and all the Princes of Germany were in a conſpiracy againſt their country, except the King of Pruſſia, the Elector of Hanover, and the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel; and they will, no doubt, be ſurprized, that Great-Britain, after all the treaties ſhe had made, and the numberleſs ſubſidies ſhe had granted, ſhould not have an ally left, except one prince, ſo embarraſſed in his own affairs, that he could grant her no ſuccour, whatever aſſiſtance he might demand. The King's meſſage met with as favourable a reception as he could have deſired. It was read in the Houſe 1757.

of

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of Commons, together with a copy of the treaty between his Majeſty and the King of Pruſſia, including the ſecret and ſeparate article, and the declaration ſigned on each ſide by the Plenipotentiaries at Weſtminſter: the requeſt was granted, and the convention approved. With equal readineſs did they gratify his Majeſty's inclination, ſignified in another meſſage, delivered on the ſeventeenth day of May, by Lord Bateman, intimating, That in this critical juncture, emergencies might ariſe of the utmoſt importance, and be attended with the moſt pernicious conſequences, if proper means ſhould not be immediately applied to prevent or defeat them; his Majeſty was, therefore, deſirous that the Houſe would enable him to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the ſervice of the current year; and to take all ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary to diſappoint or defeat any enterprizes or deſigns of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs might require. The committee of ſupply forthwith granted a very large ſum for theſe purpoſes, including the charge of German mercenaries. A like meſſage being at the ſame time communicated to the Upper Houſe, their lordſhips voted a very loyal addreſs upon the occaſion; and when the article of ſupply, which it produced among the Commons, fell under their inſpection, they unanimouſly agreed to it, by way of a clauſe of appropriation.

§ XXV. We have already obſerved, that the firſt bill which the Commons paſſed in this ſeſſion, was for the relief of the poor, by prohibiting the exportation of corn; but this remedy not being judged adequate to the evil, another bill was framed, removing, for a limited time, the duty then payable upon foreign corn and flour imported; as alſo permitting, for a certain time, all ſuch foreign corn, grain, meal, bread, biſcuit, and flour, as had been or ſhould be taken from the enemy, to be landed and expended in the kingdom duty free. In order

ſtill more to reduce the high price of corn, and to prevent any ſupply of proviſions from being ſent to our enemies in America, a third bill was brought in, prohibiting, for a time therein limited, the exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, flour, bread, biſcuit, ſtarch, beef, pork, bacon, or other victual, from any of the Britiſh plantations, unleſs to Great-Britain or Ireland, or from one colony to another. To this act two clauſes were added, for allowing thoſe neceſſaries, mentioned above, to be imported in foreign built ſhips, and from any State in amity with his Majeſty, either into Great-Britain or Ireland; and for exporting from Southampton or Exeter to the Iſle of Man, for the uſe of the inhabitants, a quantity of wheat, barley, oats, meal, or flour, not exceeding two thouſand five hundred quarters. The Commons would have ſtill improved their humanity, had they contrived and eſtabliſhed ſome effectual method to puniſh thoſe unfeeling villains, who, by engroſſing and hoarding up great quantities of grain, had created this artificial ſcarcity, and deprived their fellow-creatures of bread, with a view to their own private advantage. Upon a ſubſequent report of the Committee, the Houſe reſolved, that, to prevent the high price of wheat and bread, no ſpirits ſhould be diſtilled from wheat for a limited time. While the bill, formed on this reſolution, was in embryo, a petition was preſented to the Houſe by the brewers of London, Weſtminſter, Southwark, and parts adjacent, repreſenting, that, when the reſolution paſſed, the price of malt, which was before too high, immediately roſe to ſuch a degree, that the petitioners found themſelves utterly incapable of carrying on buſineſs at the price malt then bore, occaſioned, as they conceived, from an apprehenſion of the neceſſity the diſtillers would be under to make uſe of the beſt pale malt, and ſubſtitute the beſt barley in lieu of wheat: that, in ſuch a caſe, the markets would not be able to ſupply a ſufficient quantity of barley

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barley for the demands of both profeſſions, beſides other neceſſary uſes: they, therefore, prayed, that in regard to the publick revenue, to which the trade of the petitioners ſo largely contributed, proper meaſures might be taken for preventing the publick loſs, and relieving their particular diſtreſs. The Houſe would not lend a deaf ear to a remonſtrance in which the revenue was concerned. The members appointed to prepare the bill immediately received inſtructions to make proviſion in it to reſtrain, for a limited time, the diſtilling of barley, malt, and all grain whatſoever. The bill was framed accordingly, but did not paſs without ſtrenuous oppoſition. To this prohibition it was objected, that there are always large quantities of wheat and barley in the kingdom ſo much damaged, as to be unfit for any uſe but the diſtillery, conſequently a reſtriction of this nature would ruin many farmers, and others employed in the trade of malting. Particular intereſts, however, muſt often be ſacrificed to the welfare of the community; and the preſent diſtreſs prevailed over the proſpect of this diſadvantage. If they had allowed any ſort of grain to be diſtilled, it would have been impoſſible to prevent the diſtilling of every kind. The prohibition was limited to two months; but at the expiration of that term, the ſcarcity ſtill continuing, it was protracted by a new bill to the eleventh day of December, with a proviſo, empowering his Majeſty to put an end to it at any time after the eleventh day of May, if ſuch a ſtep ſhould be judged for the advantage of the kingdom.

§ XXVI. The next bill that engaged the attention of the Commons was a meaſure of the utmoſt national importance, though ſecretly diſliked by many individuals of the legiſlature, who, nevertheleſs, did not venture to avow their diſapprobation. The eſtabliſhment of a militia was a very popular and deſirable object, but attended with numberleſs difficulties, and a competition of intereſts which it was

was impoſſible to reconcile. It had formerly been an inexhauſtible ſource of contention between the Crown and the Commons; but now both apparently concurred in rendering it ſerviceable to the commonwealth, though ſome acquieſced in the ſcheme, who were not at all hearty in its favour. On the fourth day of December, a motion was made for the bill, Colonel George Townſhend, eldeſt ſon of Lord Viſcount Townſhend, a gentleman of courage, ſenſe, and probity; endued with penetration to diſcern, and honeſty to purſue, the real intereſt of his country, in defiance of power, in contempt of private advantages. Leave being given to bring in a bill for the better ordering of the militia forces in the ſeveral counties of England, the taſk of preparing it was allotted to Mr. Townſhend, and a conſiderable number of the moſt able members in the Houſe, comprehending his own brother, Mr. Charles Townſhend, whoſe genius ſhone with diſtinguiſhed luſtre: he was keen, diſcerning, eloquent, and accurate; poſſeſſed a remarkable vivacity of parts, with a ſurpriſing ſolidity of underſtanding; was a wit without arrogance, a patriot without prejudice, and a courtier without dependance. CHAP. VI. 1757.

§ XXVII. While the militia bill remained under conſideration in the Houſe, a petition for a conſtitutional and well-regulated militia was preſented by the mayor, jurats, and commonalty of the King's town and pariſh of Maidſtone, in Kent, in common-council aſſembled. At the ſame time remonſtrances were offered by the proteſtant diſſenting miniſters of the three denominations in and about the cities of London and Weſtminſter; by the proteſtant diſſenters of Shrewſbury; the diſſenting miniſters of Devonſhire; the proteſtant diſſenters, being freeholders and burgeſſes of the town and county, of the town of Nottingham, joined with other inhabitants of the church of England, expreſſing their apprehenſion, that, in the bill then depending, it

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might be propoſed to enact, that the ſaid militia ſhould be exerciſed on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, and praying that no clauſe for ſuch purpoſe might paſs into a law. Though nothing could be more ridiculouſly fanatick and impertinent than a declaration of ſuch a ſcruple againſt a practice ſo laudable and neceſſary, in a country where that day of the week is generally ſpent in merry-making, riot, and debauchery, the Houſe paid ſo much regard to the ſqueamiſh conſciences of thoſe puritanical petitioners, that Monday was pitched upon for the day of exerciſe to the militia, though on ſuch working days they might be much more profitably employed, both for themſelves and their country; and that no religious pretence ſhould be left for oppoſing the progreſs and execution of the bill, proper clauſes were inſerted for the relief of the quakers. Another petition and counter-petition were delivered by the magiſtrates, freeholders, and burgeſſes of the town of Nottingham, in relation to their particular franchiſes, which were accordingly conſidered in framing the bill.

§ XXVIII. After mature deliberation, and divers alterations, it paſſed the Lower-Houſe, and was ſent to the Lords for their concurrence: here it underwent ſeveral amendments, one of which was the reduction of the number of militia-men to one half of what the Commons had propoſed; namely, to thirty-two thouſand three hundred and forty men for the whole kingdom of England and Wales. The amendments being canvaſſed in the Lower-Houſe, met with ſome oppoſition, and divers conferences with their Lordſhips enſued: at length, however, the two Houſes agreed to every article, and the bill ſoon received the Royal ſanction. No proviſion, however, was made for clothes, arms, accoutrements, and pay: had regulations been made for theſe purpoſes, the act would have become a money-bill, in which the Lords could have made no amendment:

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in order, therefore, to prevent any difference between the two Houſes, on a diſpute of privileges not yet determined, and that the Houſe of Peers might make what amendments they ſhould think expedient, the Commons left the expence of the militia to be regulated in a ſubſequent bill, during the following ſeſſion, when they could, with more certainty, compute what ſum would be neceſſary for theſe purpoſes. After all, the bill ſeemed to be crude, imperfect, and ineffectual, and the promoters of it were well aware of its defects; but they were apprehenſive that it would have been dropped altogether, had they inſiſted upon the ſcheme being executed in its full extent. They were eager to ſeize this opportunity of trying an experiment, which might afterwards be improved to a greater national advantage; and, therefore, they acquieſced in many reſtrictions and alterations, which otherwiſe would not have been adopted. CHAP. VI. 1757.

§ XXIX. The next meaſure that fell under the conſideration of the Houſe was rendered neceſſary by the inhoſpitable perſeverance of the publicans and innholders, who conceived themſelves not obliged by law to receive or give quarters in their houſes to any foreign troops, and accordingly refuſed admittance to the Heſſian auxiliaries, who began to be dreadfully incommoded by the ſeverity of the weather. This objection implying an attack upon the prerogative, the Government did not think fit, at this juncture, to diſpute any other way, than by procuring a new law in favour of thoſe foreigners. It was intituled, "A bill to make proviſion for "quartering the foreign troops now in this king-"dom," prepared by Lord Barrington, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Solicitor-General, and immediately paſſed without oppoſition. This ſtep being taken, another bill was brought in, for the regulation of the marine-forces while on ſhore. This was almoſt a tranſcript of the mutiny-act, with this

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this material difference: it empowered the Admiralty to grant commiſſions for holding general courts-martial, and to do every thing, and in the ſame manner, as his Majeſty is empowered to do by the uſual mutiny-bill; conſequently every clauſe was adopted without queſtion.

§ XXX. The ſame favourable reception was given to a bill for the more ſpeedy and effectual recruiting his Majeſty's land-forces and marines; a law which threw into the hands of many worthleſs magiſtrates an additional power of oppreſſing their fellow-creatures: all juſtices of the peace, commiſſioners of the land-tax, magiſtrates of corporations and boroughs, were empowered to meet by direction of the Secretary at War, communicated in precepts iſſued by the high ſheriffs, or their deputies, within their reſpective diviſions, and at their uſual place of meeting, to qualify themſelves for the execution of the act: then they were required to appoint the times and places for their ſucceeding meetings; to iſſue precepts to the proper officers for theſe ſucceeding meetings; and to give notice of the time and place of every meeting to ſuch military officer, as, by notice from the Secretary at War, ſhould be directed to attend that ſervice. The annual bill for preventing mutiny and deſertion met with no objections, and indeed contained nothing eſſentially different from that which had paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion. The next law enacted, was, for further preventing embezzlement of goods and apparel, by thoſe with whom they are entruſted, and putting a ſtop to the practice of gaming in publick houſes. By this bill a penalty was inflicted on pawnbrokers, in a ſummary way, for receiving goods, knowing them not to be the property of the pledger, and pawned without the authority of the owner*. With

* It was enacted, that perſons pawning, exchanging, or diſpoſing of goods, without leave of the owner, ſhould ſuffer in the penalty of twenty ſhillings;

With reſpect to gaming, the act ordained, that all publicans ſuffering journeymen, labourers, ſervants, or apprentices to game with cards, dice, ſhuffle-boards, miſſiſſippi, or billiard tables, ſkittles, nine-pins, &c. ſhould forfeit forty ſhillings for the firſt offence, and for every ſubſequent offence ten pounds ſhall be levied by diſtreſs.

§ XXXI. Divers inconveniences having reſulted from the interpoſition of juſtices, who, in purſuance of an act of Parliament paſſed in the preſent reign, aſſumed the right of eſtabliſhing rates for the payment of wages to weavers, ſeveral petitions were offered to the Houſe of Commons, repreſenting the evil conſequences of ſuch an eſtabliſhment; and although theſe arguments were anſwered and oppoſed in counter-petitions, the Commons, actuated by a laudable concern for the intereſt of the woollen manufacture, after due deliberation, removed the grievance by a new bill, repealing ſo much of the former act as empowered Juſtices of the Peace to make rates for the payment of wages*.—The Commons

ſhillings; and, on non-payment, be committed for fourteen days to hard labour; afterwards, if the money could not then be paid, to be whipped publickly in the Houſe of correction, or ſuch other place as the juſtice of the peace ſhould appoint, on publication of the proſecutor: that every pawnbroker ſhould make entry of the perſon's name and place of abode who pledges any goods with him; and the pledger, if he required it, ſhould have a duplicate of that entry: that a pawnbroker receiving linen or apparel entruſted to others to be waſhed or mended, ſhould forfeit double the ſum lent upon it, and reſtore the goods: that upon oath of any perſon whoſe goods are unlawfully pawned or exchanged, the juſtice ſhould iſſue a warrant to ſearch the ſuſpected perſon's houſe; and upon refuſal of admittance the officer might break open the door: that goods pawned for any ſum not exceeding ten pounds might be recovered within two years, the owner making oath of the pawning, and tendering the principal, intereſt, and charges: that goods remaining unredeemed for two years ſhould be forfeited and ſold, the overplus to be accounted for to the owner on demand.

* It likewiſe imported, that all contracts or agreements made between clothiers and weavers, in reſpect to wages, ſhould, from and after the firſt of May, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-ſeven, be valid, notwithſtanding any rate eſtabliſhed, or to be eſtabliſhed; but that theſe contracts or agreements ſhould extend only to

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Commons were not more forward to provide ſupplies for proſecuting the war with vigour, than ready to adopt new regulations for the advantage of trade and manufactures. The ſociety of the free Britiſh fiſhery preſented a petition, alledging, that they had employed the ſum of one hundred thirty thouſand three hundred and five pounds, eight ſhillings, and ſixpence, together with the entire produce of their fiſh, and all the monies ariſing from the ſeveral branches allowed on the tonnage of their ſhipping, and on the exportation of their fiſh, in carrying on the ſaid fiſhery; and that, from their being obliged, in the infancy of the undertaking, to incur a much larger expence than was at that time foreſeen, they now found themſelves ſo far reduced in their capital, as to be utterly incapable of further proſecuting the fiſheries with any hope of ſucceſs, unleſs indulged with the further aſſiſtance of Parliament. They prayed, therefore, that, towards enabling them to carry on the ſaid fiſheries, they might have liberty to make uſe of ſuch nets as they ſhould find beſt adapted to the ſaid fiſheries; each buſs, nevertheleſs, carrying to ſea the ſame quantity and depth of netting, which, by the fiſhery-acts, they were then bound to carry: that the bounty of thirty ſhillings per ton, allowed by the ſaid acts on the veſſels employed in the fiſhery, might be increaſed; and foraſmuch as many of the ſtock-proprietors were unable to advance any further ſum for proſecuting this branch of commerce; and others unwilling in the preſent ſituation, and under the preſent reſtraints, to riſque any further ſum in the undertaking; that the ſtock of the ſociety, by the ſaid acts made unalienable, except in caſe of death or bankruptcy, for a

to the actual prices or rates of workmanſhip or wages, and not to the payment thereof in any other manner than in money; and that if any clothier ſhould refuſe or neglect to pay the weaver the wages or price agreed on, in money, within two days after the work ſhould be performed and delivered, the ſame being demanded, ſhould forfeit forty ſhillings for every ſuch offence.

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term of years, might forthwith be made transferable; and that the petitioners might be at liberty, between the intervals of the fishing seasons, to employ the busses in such a manner as they should find for the advantage of the society. While the Committee was employed in deliberating on the particulars of this remonstrance, another was delivered from the free British fishery-chamber of Whitehaven in Cumberland, representing, that as the law then stood, they went to Shetland, and returned at a great expence and loss of time; and while the war continued durst not stay there to fish, besides being obliged to run the most imminent risques, by going and returning without convoy: that, ever since the institution of the present fishery, experience had fully shown the fishery of Shetland not worth following, as thereby the petitioners had lost two months of a much better fishery in St. George's channel, within one day's sail of Whitehaven: they took notice, that the free British fishery society had applied to the House for further assistance and relief; and prayed that Campbel-town, in Argyleshire, might be appointed the place of rendezvous for the busses belonging to Whitehaven, for the summer as well as the winter fishery, that they might be enabled to fish with greater advantage. The Committee, having considered the matter of both petitions, were of opinion that the petitioners should be at liberty to use such nets as they should find best adapted to the white herring-fishery: that the bounty of thirty shillings per ton should be augmented to fifty: that the petitioners should be allowed, during the intervals of the fishing seasons, to employ their vessels in any other lawful business, provided they should have been employed in the herring-fishery during the proper seasons: that they might use such barrels for packing the fish as they then used, or might hereafter find best adapted for that purpose: that they should have liberty to make use of any waste or un-

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§ XXXII. Such are the connexions, dependencies, and relations ſubſiſting between the mechanical arts, agriculture, and manufactures of Great-Britain, that it requires ſtudy, deliberation, and enquiry in the legiſlature to diſcern and diſtinguiſh the whole ſcope and conſequences of many projects offered for the benefit of the commonwealth. The ſociety of merchant-adventurers in the city of Briſtol alledged, in a petition to the Houſe of Commons, that great quantities of bar-iron were imported into Great-Britain from Sweden, Ruſſia, and other parts, chiefly purchaſed with ready money, ſome of which iron was exported again to Africa and other places: and the reſt wrought up by the manufacturers. They affirmed that bar-iron, imported from North-America, would anſwer the ſame purpoſes; and the importation of it tend not only to the great advantage of the kingdom, by increaſing its ſhipping and navigation, but alſo to the benefit of the Britiſh colonies: that by an act paſſed in the twenty-third year of his preſent Majeſty's reign, the importation of bar-iron from America into the port of London, duty free, was permitted; but its being carried coaſtways, or farther by land than ten miles, had been prohibited; ſo that ſeveral very conſiderable manufacturing towns were deprived of the uſe of American iron, and the out-ports prevented from employing it in their export commerce: they requeſted, therefore, that bar-iron might be imported from North-America into Great-Britain, duty free, by all his Majeſty's ſubjects. This re-

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queſt being reinforced by many other petitions from different parts of the kingdom, other claſſes of men, who thought their ſeveral intereſts would be affected by ſuch a meaſure, took the alarm; and, in divers counter-petitions, ſpecified many ill conſequences which they alledged would ariſe from its being enacted into a law. Pamphlets were publiſhed on both ſides of the queſtion, and violent diſputes were kindled upon this ſubject, which was juſtly deemed a matter of national importance. The oppoſers of the bill obſerved, that large quantities of iron were yearly produced at home, and employed multitudes of poor people, there being no leſs than one hundred and nine forges in England and Wales, beſides thoſe erected in Scotland, the whole producing eighteen thouſand tons of iron: that as the mines in Great-Britain are inexhauſtible, the produce would of late years have been conſiderably increaſed, had not the people been kept under continual apprehenſion of ſeeing American iron admitted duty free: a ſuppoſition which had prevented the traders from extending their works, and diſcouraged many from engaging in this branch of traffick: they alledged that the iron works, already carried on in England, occaſioned a conſumption of one hundred and ninety-eight thouſand cords of wood, produced in coppices that grow upon barren lands, which could not otherwiſe be turned to any good account: that as the coppices afford ſhade, and preſerve a moiſture in the ground, the paſture is more valuable with the wood, than it would be if the coppices were grubbed up; conſequently all the eſtates, where theſe now grow, would ſink in their yearly value: that theſe coppices, now cultivated and preſerved for the uſe of the iron works, are likewiſe abſolutely neceſſary for the manufacture of leather, as they furniſh bark for the tanners; and that, according to the management of theſe coppices, they produced a great number of timber-trees, ſo neceſſary for the

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purpoſes of building. They aſſerted, that neither the American iron, nor any that had yet been found in Great-Britain, was ſo proper for converting into ſteel as that which comes from Sweden, particularly that ſort called ore ground; but as there are mines in the northern parts of Britain, nearly in the ſame latitude with thoſe of Sweden, furniſhed with ſufficient quantities of wood, and rivers for mills and engines, it was hardly to be doubted but that people would find metal of the ſame quality, and, in a few years, be able to prevent the neceſſity of importing iron either from Sweden or Ruſſia. They inferred that American iron could never interfere with that which Great-Britain imported from Sweden, becauſe it was not fit for edged-tools, anchors, chain-plates, and other particulars neceſſary in ſhip-building; nor diminiſh the importation of Ruſſian iron, which was not only harder than the American and Britiſh, but alſo could be afforded cheaper than that brought from our own plantations, even though the duty of this laſt ſhould be removed. The importation of American iron, therefore, duty free, could interfere with no other ſort but that produced in Britain, with which, by means of this advantage, it would claſh ſo much, as to put a ſtop in a little time to all the iron works now carried on in the kingdom, and reduce to beggary a great number of families whom they ſupport. To theſe objections the favourers of the bill ſolicited replied, that when a manufacture is much more valuable than the rough materials, and theſe cannot be produced at home in ſufficient quantities, and at ſuch a price as is conſiſtent with the preſervation of the manufacture, it is the intereſt of the legiſlature to admit a free importation of theſe materials, even from foreign countries, although it ſhould put an end to the production of that material in this iſland: that as the neighbours of Great-Britain are now more attentive than ever to their commercial intereſts, and endeavouring

vouring to manufacture their rough materials at home, this nation muſt take every method for lowering the price of materials, otherwiſe in a few years it will loſe the manufacture; and, inſtead of ſupplying other countries, be furniſhed by them with all the fine toys and utenſils made of ſteel and iron: that being in danger of loſing not only the manufacture but the produce of iron, unleſs it can be procured at a cheaper rate than that for which it is ſold at preſent, the only way of attaining this end, is by diminiſhing the duty payable upon the importation of foreign iron, or by rendering it neceſſary for the undertakers of the iron mines in Great-Britain to ſell their produce cheaper than it has been for ſome years afforded: that the moſt effectual method for this purpoſe is to raiſe up a rival, by permitting a free importation of all ſorts of iron from the American plantations: that American iron can never be ſold ſo cheap as that of Britain can be afforded; for, in the colonies, labour of all kinds is much dearer than in England: if a man employs his own ſlaves, he muſt reckon in his charge a great deal more than the common intereſt of their purchaſe-money, becauſe, when one of them dies, or eſcapes from his maſter, he loſes both intereſt and principal: that the common intereſt of money in the plantations is conſiderably higher than in England, conſequently no man in that country will employ his money in any branch of trade by which he cannot gain conſiderably more per cent. than is expected in Great-Britain, where the intereſt is low, and profit moderate; a circumſtance which will always give a great advantage to the Britiſh miner, who likewiſe enjoys an exemption from freight and inſurance, which lie heavy upon the American adventurer, eſpecially in time of war. With reſpect to the apprehenſion of the leather tanners, they obſerved, that as the coppices generally grew on barren lands, not fit for tillage, and improved the paſturage, no proprietor would

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would be at the expence of grubbing up the wood to ſpoil the paſture, as he could make no other uſe of the land on which it was produced. The wood muſt be always worth ſomething, eſpecially in counties where there is not plenty of coal, and the timber trees would produce conſiderable advantage: therefore, if there was not one iron mine in Great-Britain, no coppice would be grubbed up, unleſs it grow on a rich ſoil, which would produce corn inſtead of cord wood; conſequently, the tanners have nothing to fear, eſpecially as planting hath become a prevailing taſte among the landholders of the iſland. The Committee appointed to prepare the bill ſeriouſly weighed and canvaſſed theſe arguments, examined diſputed facts, and inſpected papers and accounts relating to the produce, importation, and manufactory of iron. At length Mr. John Pitt reported to the Houſe their opinion, implying that the liberty granted by an act paſſed in the twenty-third year of his Majeſty's reign, of importing bar-iron from the Britiſh colonies in America into the port of London, ſhould be extended to all the other ports of Great-Britain; and that ſo much of that act as related to this clauſe ſhould be repealed. The Houſe having agreed to theſe reſolutions, and the bill being brought in accordingly, another petition was preſented by ſeveral noblemen, gentlemen, freeholders, and other proprietors, owners, and poſſeſſors of coppices and woodlands, in the Weſt-riding of Yorkſhire, alledging, that a permiſſion to import American bar-iron, duty free, would be attended with numberleſs ill conſequences both of a publick and private nature; ſpecifying certain hardſhips to which they in particular would be expoſed; and praying, that, if the bill ſhould paſs, they might be relieved from the preſſure of an act paſſed in the reign of Henry VIII. obliging the owners of coppice-woods to preſerve them, under ſevere penalties; and be permitted to

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ſell and grub up their coppice-woods, in order to a more proper cultivation of the ſoil, without being reſtrained by the fear of malicious and intereſted proſecutions. In conſequence of this remonſtrance, a clauſe was added to the bill, repealing ſo much of the act of Henry the Eighth as prohibited the converſion of coppice or underwoods into paſture or tillage; then it paſſed through both Houſes, and received the Royal ſanction. As there was not time, after this affair came upon the carpet, to obtain any new accounts from America, and as it was thought neceſſary to know the quantities of iron made in that country, the Houſe preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty, deſiring he would be pleaſed to give directions that there ſhould be laid before them, in the next Seſſion of Parliament, an account of the quantity of iron made in the American colonies, from Chriſtmas, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-nine, to the fifth day of January, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-ſix, each year being diſtinguiſhed.

§ XXXIII. From this important object, the Parliament converted its attention to a regulation of a much more private nature. In conſequence of a petition by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, a bill was brought in, and paſſed into a law without oppoſition, for the more effectual preſervation and improvement of the fry and ſpawn of fiſh in the river Thames, and waters of Medway, and for the better regulating the fiſhery in thoſe rivers. The two next meaſures taken for the benefit of the publick were, firſt a bill to render more effectual the ſeveral laws then in being, for the amendment and preſervation of the highways and turnpike roads of the kingdom; the other for the more effectually preventing the ſpreading of the contagious diſtemper which, at that time, raged among the horned cattle. A third aroſe from the diſtreſs of poor ſilk manufacturers, who were deſti-

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tute of employment, and deprived of all means of ſubſiſting, through the interruption of the Levant trade: occaſioned by the war, and the delay of the merchant ſhips from Italy. In order to remedy this inconvenience, a bill was prepared, enacting, that any perſons might import from any place, in any ſhip or veſſel whatſoever, till the firſt day of December, one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-ſeven, organzine thrown ſilk of the growth or production of Italy, to be brought to the Cuſtom-Houſe of London, whereſoever landed: but that no Italian thrown ſilk, coarſer than Bologna, nor any tram of the growth of Italy, nor any other thrown ſilk of the growth or production of Turkey, Perſia, Eaſt-India, or China, ſhould be imported by this act, under the penalty of the forfeiture thereof. Notwithſtanding ſeveral petitions, preſented by the merchants, owners, and commanders of ſhips, and others trading to Leghorn, and other ports of Italy, as well as by the importers and manufacturers of raw ſilks, repreſenting the evil conſequences that would probably attend the paſſing of ſuch a bill, the Parliament agreed to this temporary deviation from the famous act of navigation, for a preſent ſupply to the poor manufacturers.

§ XXXIV. The next civil regulation eſtabliſhed in this ſeſſion of Parliament was in itſelf judicious, and, had it been more earneſtly ſuggeſted, might have been more beneficial to the publick. In order to diſcourage the practice of ſmuggling, and prevent the deſperadoes concerned therein from liſting in the ſervice of the enemy, a law was paſſed, enacting, that every perſon who had been, before the firſt of May in the preſent year, guilty of illegal running, concealing, receiving, or carrying any wool, or prohibited goods, or any foreign commodities liable to duties, the ſame not having been paid or ſecured; or of aiding therein, or had been found with fire-arms or weapons, in order to be aiding to ſuch

such offenders; or had been guilty of receiving such goods after seizure; or of any act whatsoever, whereby persons might be deemed runners of foreign goods; or of hindering, wounding, or beating any officer in the execution of his duty, or assisting therein, should be indemnified from all such offences, concerning which no suit should then have been commenced, or composition made, on condition that he should, before being apprehended or prosecuted, and before the first day of December, enter himself with some commissioned officer of his Majesty's fleet, to serve as a common sailor; and should, for three years from such entry, unless sooner duly discharged, actually serve and do duty in that station, and register his name, &c. with the clerk of the peace of the county where he resided, as the act prescribes. An attempt was made in favour of the seamen employed in the navy, who had been very irregularly paid, and subject to grievous hardships in consequence of this irregularity; Mr. Grenville, brother to Earl Temple, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the encouragement of seamen employed in his Majesty's navy, and for establishing a regular method for the punctual, speedy, and certain payment of their wages, as well as for rescuing them from the arts of fraud and imposition. The propofal was corroborated by divers petitions: the bill was prepared, read, printed, and, after it had undergone some amendment, passed into the House of Lords, where it was encountered with several objections, and dropped for this Session of Parliament.

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§ XXXV. The House of Commons being desirous of preventing, for the future, such distresses as the poor had lately undergone, appointed a Committee to consider of proper provisions to restrain the price of corn and bread within due bounds for the future. For this purpose they were empowered to send for persons, papers, and records; and it was

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resolved, that all who attended the Committee should have voices. Having enquired into the causes of the late scarcity, they agreed to several resolutions, and a bill was brought in to explain and amend the laws against regraters, forestallers, and engrossers of corn. The Committee also received instructions to enquire into the abuses of millers, mealmen, and bakers, with regard to bread, and to consider of proper methods to prevent them in the sequel; but no further progress was made in this important affair, which was the more interesting, as the lives of individuals, in a great measure, depended upon a speedy reformation; for the millers and bakers were said to have adulterated their flour with common whiting, lime, bone-ashes, allum, and other ingredients pernicious to the human constitution; a consummation of villany for which no adequate punishment could be inflicted. Among the measures proposed in Parliament which did not succeed, one of the most remarkable was a bill prepared by Mr. Rose Fuller, Mr. Charles Townshend, and Mr. Banks, to explain, amend, and render more effectual a law passed in the reign of King William the Third, intituled, "An act to punish Governors of plantations, in this "kingdom, for crimes committed by them in the "plantation." This bill was proposed in consequence of some complaints, specifying acts of cruelty, folly, and oppression, by which some British Governors had been lately distinguished; but, before the bill could be brought in, the Parliament was prorogued.

§ XXXVI. But no step taken by the House of Commons, in the course of this session, was more interesting to the body of the people than the enquiry into the loss of Minorca, which had excited such loud and universal clamour. By addresses to the King, unanimously voted, the Commons requested that his Majesty would give directions for laying before them copies of all the letters and papers containing any intelligence received by the Secretaries

Secretaries of State, the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, or any others of his Majeſty's Miniſters, in relation to the equipment of the French fleet at Toulon, or the deſigns of the French on Minorca, or any other of his Majeſty's poſſeſſions in Europe, ſince the firſt day of January, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-five, to the firſt day of Auguſt, 1756. They likewiſe deſire to peruſe a liſt of the ſhips of war that were equipped and made ready for ſea, from the firſt of Auguſt, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-five, to the thirtieth day of April, in the following year; with the copies of all ſailing orders ſent to the commanders during that period; as alſo the ſtate and condition of his Majeſty's ſhips in the ſeveral ports of Great-Britain at the time of Admiral Byng's departure, with the ſquadron under his command, for the relief of Fort St. Philip, during the period of time above-mentioned, according to the monthly returns made by the Admiralty, with the number of ſeamen muſtered and borne on board the reſpective ſhips. They demanded copies of all orders and inſtructions given to that Admiral, and of letters written to and received from him, during his continuance in that command, either by the Secretaries of State, or Lords of the Admiralty, relating to the condition of his ſquadron, and to the execution of his orders. In a word, they required the inſpection of all papers which could, in any manner, tend to explain the loſs of Minorca, and the miſcarriage of Mr. Byng's ſquadron. His Majeſty complied with every article of their requeſts: the papers were preſented to the Houſe, ordered to lie upon the table for the peruſal of the members, and finally referred to the conſideration of a Committee of the whole Houſe. In the courſe of their deliberations they addreſſed his Majeſty for more information, till at length the truth ſeemed to be ſmothered under ſuch an enormous burthen of papers, as the efforts of a whole

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whole ſeſſion could not have properly removed. Indeed, many diſcerning perſons without doors began to deſpair of ſeeing the myſtery unfolded, as ſoon as the enquiry was undertaken by a Committee of the whole Houſe. They obſerved, that an affair of ſuch a dark, intricate, and ſuſpicious nature, ought to have been referred to a ſelect and ſecret Committee, choſen by ballot, empowered to ſend for perſons, papers, and records, and to examine witneſſes in the moſt ſolemn and deliberate manner; that the names of the Committee ought to have been publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the people, who could have judged, with ſome certainty, whether the enquiry would be carried on with ſuch impartiality as the national misfortune required. They ſuſpected that this reference to a Committee of the whole Houſe was a mal-contrivance, to prevent a regular and minute inveſtigation, to introduce confuſion and conteſt, to puzzle, perplex, and obumbrate; to teaze, fatigue, and diſguſt the enquirers, that the examination might be hurried over in a ſuperficial and perfunctory manner; and the miniſtry, from this anarchy and confuſion of materials, half explored and undigeſted, derive a general parliamentary approbation, to which they might appeal from the accuſations of the people. A ſelect Committee would have probably examined ſome of the clerks of the reſpective offices, that they might certainly know whether any letters or papers had been ſuppreſſed, whether the extracts had been faithfully made, and whether there might not be papers of intelligence, which, though proper to be ſubmitted to a ſelect and ſecret Committee, could not, conſiſtently with the honour of the nation, be communicated to a Committee of the whole Houſe. Indeed, it does not appear that the miniſters had any foreign intelligence or correſpondence that could be much depended upon in any matter of national importance, and no evidence was examined on the occaſion; a

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circumſtance the leſs to be regretted, as, in times CHAP. VI.
paſt, evil miniſters have generally found means to 1757.
render ſuch enquiries ineffectual; and the ſame arts would, at any rate, have operated with the ſame efficacy, had a ſecret Committee been employed at this juncture. Be that as it may, ſeveral reſolutions were reported from the Committee, though ſome of them were not carried by the majority without violent diſpute and ſevere altercation. The firſt and laſt of their reſolutions require particular notice. By the former, it appeared to the Committee, that his Majeſty, from the twenty-ſeventh day of Auguſt, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-five, to the twentieth day of April in the ſucceeding year, received ſuch repeated and concurrent intelligence, as gave juſt reaſon to believe that the French King intended to invade his dominions of Great-Britain or Ireland. In the latter they declared their opinion, that no greater number of ſhips of war could be ſent into the Mediterranean, than were actually ſent thither under the command of Admiral Byng; nor any greater reinforcement than the regiment which was ſent, and the detachment, equal to a battalion, which was ordered to the relief of Fort St. Philip, conſiſtently with the ſtate of the navy, and the various ſervices eſſential to the ſafety of his Majeſty's dominions, and the intereſts of his ſubjects. It muſt have been ſomething more powerful than ordinary conviction that ſuggeſted theſe opinions. Whatever reports might have been circulated by the French miniſtry, in order to amuſe, intimidate, and detach the attention of the Engliſh government from America and the Mediterranean, where they really intended to exert themſelves, yet, the circumſtances of the two nations being conſidered, one would think there could have been no juſt grounds to fear an invaſion of Great-Britain or Ireland, eſpecially when other intelligence ſeemed to point out much more probable ſcenes of action.

But

BOOK III. 1757. But the laſt reſolution is ſtill more incomprehenſible to thoſe who know not exactly the baſis on which it was raiſed. The number of ſhips of war in actual commiſſion amounted to two hundred and fifty, having on board fifty thouſand ſeamen and marines. Intelligence and repeated information of the French deſign upon Minorca had been conveyed to the Miniſtry of England, about ſix months before it was put in execution. Is it credible, that in all this time the nation could not equip or ſpare above eleven ſhips of the line and ſix frigates, to ſave the important iſland of Minorca? Is it eaſy to conceive, that from a ſtanding army of fifty thouſand men, one regiment of troops could not have been detached to reinforce a garriſon, well known to be inſufficient for the works it was deſtined to defend? To perſons of common intellects it appeared, that intelligence of the armament at Toulon was conveyed to the Admiralty as early as the month of September, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-five, with expreſs notice that it would conſiſt of twelve ſhips of the line; that the deſign againſt Minorca was communicated as early as the twenty-ſeventh day of Auguſt, by Conſul Banks, of Carthagena; confirmed by letters from Conſul Bertes, at Genoa, dated on the ſeventeenth and twenty-ſixth of January, and received by Mr. Fox, Secretary of State, on the fourth and eleventh of February, as well as by many ſubſequent intimations; that, notwithſtanding theſe repeated advices, even after hoſtilities had commenced in Europe, when the garriſon of Minorca amounted to no more than four incomplete regiments, and one company of artillery, forty-two officers being abſent, and the place otherwiſe unprovided for a ſiege, when the Mediterranean ſquadron, commanded by Mr. Edgecumbe, conſiſted of two ſhips of the line, and five frigates; neither ſtores, ammunition, or proviſion, the abſent officers belonging to the garriſon, recruits for the regiments,

regiments, though ready raiſed, miners, nor any additional troops, were ſent to the iſland, nor the ſquadron augmented, till Admiral Byng ſailed from Spithead on the ſixth day of April, with no more ſhips of the line than, by the moſt early and authentick intelligence, the government were informed would ſail from Toulon even when Mr. Byng ſhould have been joined by Commodore Edgecumbe; a junction upon which no dependance ought to have been laid; that this ſquadron contained no troops but ſuch as belonged to the four regiments in garriſon, except one battalion to ſerve in the fleet as marines, unleſs we include the order for another to be embarked at Gibraltar; which order was neither obeyed nor underſtood: that, conſidering the danger to which Minorca was expoſed, and the forwardneſs of the enemy's preparations at Toulon, Admiral Oſborne, with thirteen ſhips of the line and one frigate, who returned on the ſixteenth of February, after having convoyed a fleet of merchant-ſhips, might have been detached to Minorca, without hazarding the coaſt of Great-Britain; for at that time, excluſive of this ſquadron, there were eight ſhips of the line and thirty-two frigates ready manned, and thirty-two ſhips of the line and five frigates almoſt equipped; that Admiral Hawke was ſent with fourteen ſhips of the line and one frigate to cruize in the bay of Biſcay, after repeated intelligence had been received that the French fleet had ſailed for the Weſt-Indies, and the eleven ſhips remaining at Breſt and Rochefort were in want of hands and cannon, ſo that they could never ſerve to cover any embarkation or deſcent, conſequently Mr. Hawke's ſquadron might have been ſpared for the relief of Minorca; that, inſtead of attending to this important object, the Admiralty, on the eighth day of March, ſent two ſhips of the line and three frigates to intercept a coaſting convoy off Cape

CHAP. VI. 1759.

BOOK III. 1757.

Barfleur: on the eleventh of the ſame month they detached two ſhips of the line to the Weſt-Indies, and on the nineteenth two more to North-America, where they could be of little immediate ſervice; on the twenty-third two of the line and three frigates a convoy-hunting off Cherbourg; and on the firſt of April five ſhips of the line, including three returned from this laſt ſervice, to reinforce Sir Edward Hawke, already too ſtrong for the French fleet bound to Canada; that all theſe ſhips might have been added to Mr. Byng's ſquadron, without expoſing Great-Britain or Ireland to any hazard of invaſion: that at length Mr. Byng was detached with ten great ſhips only, and even denied a frigate to repeat ſignals, for which he petitioned; although at that very time there were in port, excluſive of his ſquadron, ſeventeen ſhips of the line and thirteen frigates ready for ſea, beſides eleven of the line and nineteen frigates almoſt equipped. From theſe and other circumſtances, particulariſed and urged with great vivacity, many individuals inferred, that a greater number of ſhips might have been detached to the Mediterranean than were actually ſent with Admiral Byng; that the not ſending an earlier and ſtronger force was one great cauſe of Minorca's being loſt, and co-operated with the delay of the miniſtry in ſending thither reinforcements of troops, their neglect in ſuffering the officers of the garriſon to continue abſent from their duty, and their omitting to give orders for raiſing miners to ſerve in the fortreſs of Mahon.

§ XXXVII. The next enquiry in which the Houſe of Commons engaged, related to the contracts for victualling the forces in America, which were ſuppoſed by ſome patriots to be fraudulent and unconſcionable. This ſuſpicion aroſe from an ambiguous expreſſion, on which the contractor being interrogated by the Committee appointed to examine

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the particulars, he prudently interpreted it in such a manner, as to screen himself from the resentment of the Legislature. The House, therefore, resolved that the contract entered into on the twenty-sixth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, by the Commissioners of the Treasury, with William Baker, Christopher Kilby, and Richard Baker, of London, merchants, for furnishing provisions to the forces under the command of the Earl of Loudoun, was prudent and necessary, and properly adapted to the securing a constant and effectual supply for those forces in America. CHAP. VI. 1757.

§ XXXVIII. The preceding session an address had been presented to the King by the House of Commons, desiring his Majesty would give orders for laying before them several papers relating to disputes which had lately happened between his Excellency Charles Knowles, Esq. and some of the principal inhabitants of the Island of Jamaica. This Governor was accused of many illegal, cruel, and arbitrary acts, during the course of his administration: but these imputations he incurred by an exertion of power, which was in itself laudable, and well intended for the commercial interest of the island. This was his changing the seat of Government, and procuring an act of assembly for removing the several laws, records, books, papers, and writings belonging to several offices in that island, from Spanish-town to Kingston; and for obliging the several officers to keep their offices, and hold a supreme Court of Judicature, at this last place, to which he had moved the Seat of Government. Spanish-town, otherwise called St. Jago de la Vega, the old capital, was an inconsiderable inland place, of no security, trade, or importance; whereas, Kingston was the centre of commerce, situated on the side of a fine harbour filled with ships, well secured from the in-

BOOK III. 1757.

sults of an enemy, large, wealthy, and flouriſhing. Here the merchants dwell, and ſhip the greateſt part of the ſugars that grow upon the iſland. They found it extremely inconvenient and expenſive to take out their clearances at Spaniſh-town, which ſtands at a conſiderable diſtance; and the ſame inconvenience and expence being felt by the reſt of the inhabitants, who had occaſion to proſecute ſuits at law, or attend the aſſembly of the iſland, they joined in repreſentations to the Governor, requeſting, that, in conſideration of theſe inconveniences, added to that of the weakneſs of Spaniſh-town and the importance of Kingſton, the ſeat of Government might be removed. He complied with their requeſt, and in ſo doing entailed upon himſelf the hatred and reſentment of certain powerful planters, who poſſeſſed eſtates in and about the old town of St. Jago de la Vega, thus deſerted. This ſeems to have been the real ſource of the animoſity and clamour incurred by Mr. Knowles, againſt whom a petition, ſigned by nineteen members of the aſſembly, had been ſent to England, and preſented to his Majeſty. In the two ſeſſions preceding this year the affair had been brought into the Houſe of Commons, where this Governor's character was painted in frightful colours, and divers papers relating to the diſpute were examined. Mr. Knowles having by this time returned to England, the ſubject of his adminiſtration was revived, and referred to a Committee of the whole Houſe. In the mean time, petitions were preſented by ſeveral merchants of London and Liverpool, concerned in the trade to Jamaica, alledging, that the removal of the publick courts, offices, and records of the iſland of Jamaica to Kingſton, and fixing the ſeat of government there, had been productive of many important advantages, by rendering the ſtrength of the iſland more formidable, the property of the traders and inhabitants

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more ſecure, and the proſecution of all commercial buſineſs more expeditious and leſs expenſive than formerly; therefore, praying that the purpoſes of the act paſſed in Jamaica for that end might be carried into effectual execution, in ſuch manner as the Houſe ſhould think proper. The Committee having examined a great number of papers, agreed to ſome reſolutions, importing, that a certain reſolution of the aſſembly of Jamaica, dated on the twenty-ninth day of October, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-three, implying a claim of right in that aſſembly to raiſe and apply publick money without the conſent of the Governor and Council, was illegal, repugnant to the terms of his Majeſty's commiſſion to his Governor of the ſaid iſland, and derogatory of the rights of the crown and people of Great-Britain: that the ſix laſt reſolutions taken in the aſſembly of Jamaica, on the twenty-ninth day of October, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-three, proceeded on a manifeſt miſapprehenſion of the King's inſtruction to his Governor, requiring him not to give his aſſent to any bill of an unuſual or extraordinary nature and importance, wherein his Majeſty's prerogative, or the property of his ſubjects, might be prejudiced, or the trade or ſhipping of the kingdom any ways affected, unleſs there ſhould be a clauſe inſerted, ſuſpending the execution of ſuch bill until his Majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known; that ſuch inſtruction was juſt and neceſſary, and no alteration of the conſtitution of the iſland, nor any way derogatory to the rights of the ſubjects in Jamaica. From theſe reſolutions the reader may perceive the nature of the diſpute which had ariſen between the people of Jamaica and their Governor, Vice-Admiral Knowles, whoſe conduct on this occaſion ſeems to have been juſtified by the legiſlature. The Parliament, however, forebore to determine the queſtion, whether the removal of the Courts of

CHAP. VI. 1767.

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Judicature from Spaniſh-town to Kingſton was a meaſure calculated for the intereſt of the iſland in general.

§ XXXIX. The laſt ſubject which we ſhall mention, as having fallen under the cognizance of the Commons during this ſeſſion of Parliament, was the ſtate of Milford-haven on the coaſt of Wales, one of the moſt capacious, ſafe, and commodious harbours in Great-Britain. Here the country affords many conveniencies for building ſhips of war, and erecting forts, docks, quays, and magazines. It might be fortified at a very ſmall expence, ſo as to be quite ſecure from any attempts of the enemy, and rendered by far the moſt uſeful harbour in the kingdom for fleets, cruiſers, trading ſhips, and packet boats, bound to and from the weſtward; for from hence they may put to ſea almoſt with any wind, and even at low water: they may weather Scilly and Cape Clear when no veſſel can ſtir from the Britiſh channel, or out of the French ports of Breſt and Rochefort, and as a poſt can travel from hence in three days to London, it might become the centre of very uſeful ſea intelligence. A petition from ſeveral merchants in London was preſented, and recommended to the Houſe in a meſſage from the King, ſpecifying the advantages of this harbour, and the ſmall expence at which it might be fortified, and praying that the Houſe would take this important ſubject into conſideration. Accordingly, a Committee was appointed for this purpoſe, with power to ſend for perſons, papers, and records; and every circumſtance relating to it was examined with accuracy and deliberation. At length the report being made to the Houſe by Mr. Charles Townſhend, they unanimouſly agreed to an addreſs, repreſenting to his Majeſty, that many great loſſes had been ſuſtained by the trade of the kingdom, in time of war, from the want of a ſafe harbour on the weſtern

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coaſt of the iſland, for the reception and protection of merchant ſhips, and ſending out cruiſers: that the harbour of Milford-haven, in the county of Pembroke, is moſt advantageouſly ſituated, and if properly defended and ſecured, in every reſpect adapted to the anſwering thoſe important purpoſes: they, therefore, humbly beſought his Majeſty, that he would give immediate directions for erecting batteries, with proper cover, on the ſides of the ſaid harbour, in the moſt convenient places for guarding the entrance called Hubberſtone-road, and alſo ſuch other fortifications as might be neceſſary to ſecure the interior parts of the harbour, and that, until ſuch batteries and fortifications could be completed, ſome temporary defence might be provided for the immediate protection of the ſhips and veſſels lying in the ſaid harbour; finally, they aſſured him the Houſe would make good to his Majeſty all ſuch expences as ſhould be incurred for theſe purpoſes. The addreſs met with a gracious reception, and a promiſe that ſuch directions ſhould be given. The harbour was actually ſurveyed, the places were pitched upon for batteries, and the eſtimates prepared, but no further progreſs hath ſince been made. CHAP. VI. 1757.

§ XL. We have now finiſhed the detail of all the material tranſactions of this ſeſſion, except what relates to the fate of Admiral Byng, which now claims our attention. In the mean time, we may obſerve, that on the fourth day of July the ſeſſion was cloſed with his Majeſty's harangue, the moſt remarkable and pleaſing paragraph of which turned upon his royal aſſurance, that the ſuccour and preſervation of his dominions in America had been his conſtant care, and, next to the ſecurity of his kingdoms, ſhould continue to be his great and principal object. He told them he had taken ſuch meaſures as, he truſted, by the bleſſing of God, might effectually diſappoint the deſigns of the enemy in thoſe parts; that he had no further view but to vindicate the juſt rights of

BOOK III. 1737.

his crown and ſubjects from the moſt injurious encroachments; to preſerve tranquillity, as far as the circumſtances of things might admit; to prevent the true friends of Britain, and the liberties of Europe, from being oppreſſed and endangered by any unprovoked and unnatural conjunction.

§ XLI. Of all the tranſactions that diſtinguiſhed this year, the moſt extraordinary was the ſentence executed on Admiral Byng, the ſon of that great officer who had acquired ſuch honour by his naval exploits in the preceding reign, and was ennobled for his ſervices by the title of Lord Viſcount Torrington. His ſecond ſon, John Byng, had from his earlieſt youth been trained to his father's profeſſion; and was generally eſteemed one of the beſt officers in the navy, when he embarked in that expedition to Minorca, which covered his character with diſgrace, and even expoſed him to all the horrors of an ignominious death. On the twenty-eighth day of December his trial began before a court-martial, held on board the ſhip St. George, in the harbour of Portſmouth, to which place Mr. Byng had been conveyed from Greenwich by a party of horſe-guards, and inſulted by the populace in every town and village through which he paſſed. The court having proceeded to examine the evidences for the crown and the priſoner, from day to day, in the courſe of a long ſitting, agreed unanimouſly to thirty-ſeven reſolutions, implying their opinion, that Admiral Byng, during the engagement between the Britiſh and French fleets, on the twentieth day of May laſt, did not do his utmoſt endeavour to take, ſeize, and deſtroy the ſhips of the French King, which it was his duty to have engaged, and to aſſiſt ſuch of his Majeſty's ſhips as were engaged, which it was his duty to have aſſiſted; and that he did not exert his utmoſt power for the relief of St. Philip's-caſtle. They, therefore, unanimouſly agreed that he fell under

under part of the twelfth article of an act of Parliament paſſed in the twenty-ſecond year of the preſent reign, for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act of Parliament, the laws relating to the government of his Majeſty's ſhips, veſſels, and forces by ſea; and as that article poſitively preſcribed death, without any alternative left to the diſcretion of the court under any variation of circumſtances, they unanimouſly adjudged the ſaid Admiral John Byng to be ſhot to death, at ſuch time, and on board of ſuch ſhip, as the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty ſhould pleaſe to direct. But as it appeared, by the evidence of the officers who were near the Admiral's perſon, that no backwardneſs was perceivable in him during the action, nor any mark of fear or confuſion either in his countenance or behaviour; but that he delivered his orders coolly and diſtinctly, without ſeeming deficient in perſonal courage; and, from other circumſtances, they believed his miſconduct did not ariſe either from cowardice or diſaffection, they unanimouſly and earneſtly recommended him as a proper object of mercy. The Admiral himſelf behaved through the whole trial with the moſt cheerful compoſure, ſeemingly the effect of conſcious innocence, upon which, perhaps, he too much relied. Even after he had heard the evidence examined againſt him, and finiſhed his own defence, he laid his account in being honourably acquitted; and ordered his coach to be ready for conveying him directly from the tribunal to London. A gentleman, his friend, by whom he was attended, having received intimation of the ſentence to be pronounced, thought it his duty to prepare him for the occaſion, that he might ſummon all his fortitude to his aſſiſtance, and accordingly made him acquainted with the information he had received. The Admiral gave tokens of ſurpriſe and reſentment, but betrayed no marks of fear or diſorder, either then or in the court when the ſentence was pronounced. On the

BOOK III. 1757.

contrary, while divers members of the court-martial manifeſted grief, anxiety, and trepidation, ſhedding tears, and ſighing with extraordinary emotion, he heard his doom denounced without undergoing the leaſt alteration of feature, and made a low obeiſance to the preſident and the other members of the court, as he retired.

§ XLII. The officers who compoſed this tribunal were ſo ſenſible of the law's ſeverity, that they unanimouſly ſubſcribed a letter to the board of Admiralty, containing this remarkable paragraph:—"We cannot help laying the diſtreſſes of our minds "before your lordſhips on this occaſion, in finding "ourſelves under neceſſity of condemning a man "to death, from the great ſeverity of the twelfth "article of war, part of which he falls under, "which admits of no mitigation if the crime ſhould "be committed by an error in judgment; and, "therefore, for our own conſciences' ſake, as well "as in juſtice to the priſoner, we pray your lord-"ſhips, in the moſt earneſt manner, to recommend "him to his Majeſty's clemency." The Lords of the Admiralty, inſtead of complying with the requeſt of the court-martial, tranſmitted their letter to the King, with copies of their proceedings, and a letter from themſelves to his Majeſty, ſpecifying a doubt with regard to the legality of the ſentence, as the crime of negligence, for which the Admiral had been condemned, was not expreſſed in any part of the proceedings. At the ſame time, copies of two petitions from George Lord Viſcount Torrington, in behalf of his kinſman Admiral Byng, were ſubmitted to his Majeſty's royal wiſdom and determination. All the friends and relations of the unhappy convict employed and exerted their influence and intereſt for his pardon; and, as the circumſtances had appeared ſo ſtrong in his favour, it was ſuppoſed that the ſceptre of royal mercy would be

be extended for his preſervation: but infamous arts were uſed to whet the ſavage appetite of the populace for blood. The cry of vengeance was loud throughout the land; ſullen clouds of ſuſpicion and malevolence interpoſing, were ſaid to obſtruct the genial beams of the beſt virtue that adorns the throne: and the Sovereign was given to underſtand, that the execution of Admiral Byng, was a victim abſolutely neceſſary to appeaſe the fury of the people. His Majeſty, in conſequence of the repreſentation made by the Lords of the Admiralty, referred the ſentence to the conſideration of the twelve judges, who were unanimouſly of opinion that the ſentence was legal. This report being tranſmitted from the Privy-Council to the Admiralty, their Lordſhips iſſued a warrant for executing the ſentence of death on the twenty-eighth day of February. One gentleman at the board, however, refuſed to ſubſcribe the warrant, aſſigning for his refuſal the reaſons which we have inſerted by way of note, for the ſatisfaction of the reader*.

CHAP. VI. 1757.

§ XLIII.

* Admiral F——s's reaſons for not ſigning the warrant for Admiral Byng's execution:

"IT may be thought great preſumption in me to differ from ſo great authority as that of the twelve judges; but when a man is called upon to ſign his name to an act which is to give authority to the ſhedding of blood, he ought to be guided by his own conſcience, and not by the opinions of other men.

"In the caſe before us, it is not the merit of Admiral Byng that I conſider: whether he deſerves death or not, is not a queſtion for me to decide; but whether or not his life can be taken away by the ſentence pronounced on him by the court martial, and after having ſo clearly explained their motives for pronouncing ſuch a ſentence, is the point which alone has employed my ſerious conſideration.

"The twelfth article of war, on which admiral Byng's ſentence is grounded, ſays, (according to my underſtanding of its meaning,) 'That every perſon, who, in time of action, ſhall withdraw, keep back, or not come into fight, or do his utmoſt, &c. through motives of cowardice, negligence, or diſaffection, ſhall ſuffer death.' The court-martial does, in expreſs words, acquit Admiral Byng of cowardice and diſaffection, and does not name the word Negligence. Admiral Byng does not, as I conceive, fall under the letter or deſcription of the twelfth article of war. It may be ſaid, that negligence is implied, though the word is not mentioned, otherwiſe the court-martial would not have brought his offence under the twelfth article,

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§ XLIII. Though mercy was denied to the criminal, the crown ſeemed determined to do nothing that ſhould be thought inconſiſtent with law. A member of Parliament, who had ſat upon the court-martial at Portſmouth, roſe up in his place, and made application to the Houſe of Commons in behalf of himſelf and ſeveral other members of that tribunal, praying the aid of the legiſlature to be releaſed from the oath of ſecrecy impoſed on courts-

article, having acquitted him of cowardice and diſaffection. But it muſt be acknowledged that the negligence implied cannot be wilful negligence; for wilful negligence in Admiral Byng's ſituation, muſt have proceeded either from cowardice or diſaffection, and he is expreſsly acquitted of both theſe crimes; beſides, theſe crimes, which are implied only, and not named, may indeed juſtify ſuſpicion and private opinion, but cannot ſatisfy the conſcience in caſe of blood.

"Admiral Byng's fate was referred to a court-martial, his life and death were left to their opinions. The court-martial condemn him to death, becauſe, as they expreſsly ſay, they were under a neceſſity of doing ſo by reaſon of the letter of the law, the ſeverity of which they complained of, becauſe it admits of no mitigation. The court-martial expreſsly ſay, that for the ſake of their conſciences, as well as in juſtice to the priſoner, they moſt earneſtly recommend him to his Majeſty for mercy; it is evident, then, that in the opinions and conſcienees of the judges, he was not deſerving of death.

"The queſtion then is, ſhall the opinions or neceſſities of the court-martial determine Admiral Byng's fate? If it ſhould be the latter, he will be executed contrary to the intentions and meaning of his judges; if the former, his life is not forfeited. His judges declare him not deſerving of death; but, miſtaking either the meaning of the law, or the nature of his offence, they bring him under an article of war, which, according to their own deſcription of his offence, he does not, I conceive, fall under: and then they condemn him to death, becauſe, as they ſay, the law admits of no mitigation. Can a man's life be taken away by ſuch a ſentence? I would not willingly be miſunderſtood, and have it believed that I judge of Admiral Byng's deſerts: that was the buſineſs of a court-martial, and it is my duty only to act according to my conſcience; which, after deliberate conſideration, aſſiſted by the beſt light a poor underſtanding can afford it, remains ſtill in doubt, and therefore I cannot conſent to ſign a warrant whereby the ſentence of the court-martial may be carried into execution; for I cannot help thinking, that however criminal Admiral Byng may be, his life is not forfeited by that ſentence. I do not mean to find fault with other men's opinions; all I endeavour at, is to give reaſons for my own; and all I deſire or wiſh is, that I may not be miſunderſtood; I do not pretend to judge Admiral Byng's deſerts, nor to give any opinion on the propriety of the act.

"Signed, 6th Feb. 1757, at the Admiralty.

"J. F——S."

martial,

martial, that they might diſcloſe the grounds on which ſentence of death had paſſed on Admiral Byng, and, perhaps, diſcover ſuch circumſtances as might ſhew the ſentence to be improper. Although this application produced no reſolution in the Houſe, the King, on the twenty-ſixth day of February, ſent a meſſage to the Commons by Mr. Secretary Pitt, importing, that though he had determined to let the law take its courſe with relation to Admiral Byng, and reſiſted all ſolicitations to the contrary, yet, as a member of the Houſe had expreſſed ſome ſcruples about the ſentence, his Majeſty had thought fit to reſpite the execution of it, that there might be an opportunity of knowing, by the ſeparate examination of the members of the court-martial, upon oath, what grounds there were for ſuch ſcruples, and that his Majeſty was reſolved ſtill to let the ſentence be carried into execution, unleſs it ſhould appear from the ſaid examination, that Admiral Byng was unjuſtly condemned. The ſentence might be ſtrictly legal, and, at the ſame time, very ſevere, according to the maxim, *ſummum jus, ſumma injuria*. In ſuch caſes, and perhaps in ſuch caſes only, the rigour of the law ought to be ſoftened by the lenient hand of the Royal prerogative. That this was the caſe of Admiral Byng appears from the warm and eager interceſſion of his jury, a ſpecies of interceſſion which hath generally, if not always, prevailed at the foot of the throne, when any thing favourable for the criminal had appeared in the courſe of the trial. How much more then might it have been expected to ſucceed, when earneſtly urged as a caſe of conſcience, in behalf of a man whom his judges had expreſsly acquitted of cowardice and treachery, the only two imputations that rendered him criminal in the eyes of the nation! Such an interpoſition of the crown in parliamentary tranſactions was irregular, unneceſſary, and at another juncture might have been productive of violent heats and declamation.

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At

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At preſent, however, it paſſed without cenſure, as the effect of inattention, rather than a deſign to encroach upon the privileges of the Houſe.

§ XLIV. The meſſage being communicated, a bill was immediately brought in, to releaſe the members of the court-martial from the obligation of ſecrecy, and paſſed through the Lower-Houſe without oppoſition: but in the Houſe of Lords it appeared to be deſtitute of a proper foundation. They ſent a meſſage to the Commons, deſiring them to give leave that ſuch of the members of the court-martial as were members of that Houſe might attend their Lordſhips, in order to be examined on the ſecond reading of the bill; accordingly they, and the reſt of the court-martial, attended, and anſwered all queſtions without heſitation. As they did not inſiſt upon any excuſe, nor produce any ſatisfactory reaſon for ſhewing that the man they had condemned was a proper object of mercy, their Lordſhips were of opinion that there was no occaſion for paſſing any ſuch bill, which, therefore, they almoſt unanimouſly rejected. It is not eaſy to conceive what ſtronger reaſons could be given for proving Mr. Byng an object of mercy, than thoſe mentioned in the letter ſent to the board of Admiralty by the members of the court-martial, who were empowered to try the imputed offence, conſequently muſt have been deemed well qualified to judge of his conduct.

§ XLV. The unfortunate Admiral being thus abandoned to the ſtroke of juſtice, prepared himſelf for death with reſignation and tranquillity. He maintained a ſurpriſing cheerfulneſs to the laſt; nor did he, from his condemnation to his execution, exhibit the leaſt ſign of impatience or apprehenſion. During that interval he had remained on board of the Monarque, a third-rate ſhip of war, anchored in the harbour of Portſmouth, under a ſtrong guard, in cuſtody of the Marſhal of the Admiralty. On the fourteenth

fourteenth of March, the day fixed for his execution, the boats belonging to the ſquadron at Spithead being manned and armed, containing their captains and officers, with a detachment of marines, attended this ſolemnity in the harbour, which was alſo crowded with an infinite number of other boats and veſſels filled with ſpectators. About noon, the Admiral having taken leave of a Clergyman, and two friends who accompanied him, walked out of the great cabin to the quarter-deck, where two files of marines were ready to execute the ſentence. He advanced with a firm deliberate ſtep, a compoſed and reſolute countenance, and reſolved to ſuffer with his face uncovered, until his friends, repreſenting that his looks would poſſibly intimidate the ſoldiers, and prevent their taking aim properly, he ſubmitted to their requeſt, threw his hat on the deck, kneeled on a cuſhion, tied one white handkerchief over his eyes, and dropped the other as a ſignal for his executioners, who fired a volley ſo deciſive, that five balls paſſed through his body, and he dropped down dead in an inſtant. The time in which this tragedy was acted, from his walking out of the cabin to his being depoſited in the coffin, did not exceed three minutes.

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§ XLVI. Thus fell, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe, Admiral John Byng; who, whatever his errors and indiſcretions might have been, ſeems to have been raſhly condemned, meanly given up, and cruelly ſacrificed to vile conſiderations. The ſentiments of his own fate he avowed on the verge of eternity, when there was no longer any cauſe of diſſimulation, in the following declaration, which, immediately before his death, he delivered to the Marſhal of the Admiralty: "A few moments will now deliver me from the virulent perſecution, and fruſtrate the further malice of my enemies: nor need I envy them a life ſubject to the ſenſations my injuries, and the injuſtice done me, muſt create. Perſuaded I am, that

BOOK III. 1757. that juſtice will be done to my reputation hereafter: the manner and cauſe of raiſing and keeping up the popular clamour and prejudice againſt me will be ſeen through. I ſhall be conſidered (as I now perceive myſelf) a victim deſtined to divert the indignation and reſentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects. My enemies themſelves muſt now think me innocent. Happy for me, at this my laſt moment, that I know my own innocence, and am conſcious that no part of my country's misfortunes can be owing to me. I heartily wiſh the ſhedding my blood may contribute to the happineſs and ſervice of my country; but cannot reſign my juſt claim to a faithful diſcharge of my duty according to the beſt of my judgment, and the utmoſt exertion of my ability for his Majeſty's honour, and my country's ſervice. I am ſorry that my endeavours were not attended with more ſucceſs, and that the armament under my command proved too weak to ſucceed in an expedition of ſuch moment. Truth has prevailed over calumny and falſehood, and juſtice has wiped off the ignominious ſtain of my ſuppoſed want of perſonal courage, and the charge of diſaffection. My heart acquits me of theſe crimes: but who can be preſumptuouſly ſure of his own judgment? If my crime is an error in judgment, or differing in opinion from my judges, and if yet the error in judgment ſhould be on their ſide, God forgive them, as I do; and may the diſtreſs of their minds, and uneaſineſs of their conſciences, which in juſtice to me they have repreſented, be relieved, and ſubſide as my reſentment has done. The ſupreme Judge ſees all hearts and motives, and to him I muſt ſubmit the juſtice of my cauſe."

§ XLVII. Notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid in his favour, notwithſtanding the infamous arts that were practiſed to keep up the cry againſt him, notwithſtanding this ſolemn appeal to Heaven in his laſt moments,

moments, and even ſelf-conviction of innocence; the character of Admiral Byng, in point of perſonal courage, will ſtill, with many people, remain problematical. They will ſtill be of opinion, that if the ſpirit of a Britiſh Admiral had been properly exerted, the French fleet would have been defeated, and Minorca relieved. A man's opinion of danger varies at different times, in conſequence of an irregular tide of animal ſpirits, and he is actuated by conſiderations which he dares not avow. After an officer, thus influenced, has heſitated or kept aloof in the hour of trial, the mind, eager for its own juſtification, aſſembles, with ſurpriſing induſtry, every favourable circumſtance of excuſe, and broods over them with parental partiality, until it becomes not only ſatisfied, but even enamoured of their beauty and complexion, like a doating mother, blind to the deformity of her own offſpring. Whatever Mr. Byng's internal feelings might have been, whatever conſequences might have attended his behaviour on that occaſion; as the tribunal before which he was tried acquitted him expreſsly of cowardice and treachery, he was, without all doubt, a proper object for Royal clemency; and ſo impartial poſterity will judge him, after all thoſe diſhonourable motives of faction and of fear, by which his fate was influenced, ſhall be loſt in oblivion, or remembered with diſdain. The people of Great-Britain, naturally fierce, impatient, and clamorous, have been too much indulged, upon every petty miſcarriage, with trials, courts-martial, and diſmiſſions, which tend only to render their military commanders raſh and precipitate, the populace more licentious and intractable, and to diſgrace the national character in the opinion of mankind.

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CHAP. VII.

§ I. *Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge taken into the adminiſtration.* § II. *Obliged to reſign.* § III. *Reſtored to their employments.* § IV. *Coalition of parties.* § V. *Deſcent on the coaſt of France meditated.* § VI. *Command of the fleet given to Sir Edward Hawke, and of the land-forces to Sir John Mordaunt. Fleet ſails, September 8.* § VII. *Admiral Knowles ſent to take Aix.* § VIII. *Attack and ſurrender of Aix.* § IX. *A deſcent reſolved on.* § X. *The fleet returns to Spithead. His Majeſty appoints a board of enquiry into the reaſons of the fleet's return.* § XI. *Proceedings of the court of enquiry.* § XII. *Its report.* § XIII. *Sir John Mordaunt tried by a court-martial, and acquitted.* § XIV. *Fleets ſent to the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies.* § XV. *Succeſs of the Engliſh privateers.* § XVI. *Riots occaſioned by the high price of corn.* § XVII. *Operations in America.* § XVIII. *Lord Loudoun's conduct in America.* § XIX. *Fort William Henry taken by the French.* § XX. *Naval tranſactions in America.* § XXI. *Attempt of M. de Kerſin on Cape-coaſt-caſtle, in Africa.* § XXII. *State of affairs in the Eaſt-Indies. Calcutta recovered. The Suba's camp forced, and a new treaty concluded with him.* § XXIII. *Reduction of Chandernagore.* § XXIV. *Colonel Clive defeats the Suba at Plaiſſey, who is afterwards depoſed and put to death.* § XXV. *King of France aſſaſſinated. Tortures inflicted on the aſſaſſin.* § XXVI. *Changes in the French miniſtry.* § XXVII. *State of the confederacy againſt the King of Pruſſia.* § XXVIII. *Precautions taken by his Pruſſian Majeſty.* § XXIX. *Skirmiſhes between the Pruſſians and Auſtrians.* § XXX. *Neutrality of the Emperor, and behaviour of the Dutch.* § XXXI. *The French take poſſeſſion of*

ſeveral

ſeveral towns in the Low-Countries belonging to the King of Pruſſia. § XXXII. *Declaration of the Czarina againſt the King of Pruſſia. Factions in Poland.* § XXXIII. *Fruitleſs endeavours of the Engliſh to reſtore the tranquillity of Germany.* § XXXIV. *King of Pruſſia enters Bohemia. Prince of Bevern defeats the Auſtrians at Richenberg.* § XXXV. *King of Pruſſia gains a complete victory over the Auſtrians near Prague. Mareſchal Schwerin killed.* § XXXVI. *Prague inveſted.* § XXXVII. *And bombarded. Brave defence of the beſieged.* § XXXVIII. *Count Dawn takes the command of the Auſtrian army. His character.* § XXXIX. *King of Pruſſia defeated at Kolin.* § XL. *He raiſes the ſiege of Prague, and quits Bohemia.* § XLI. *Preparations for the defence of Hanover. The allied army aſſembles under the Duke of Cumberland.* § XLII. *Skirmiſhes with the French.* § XLIII. *Duke of Cumberland paſſes the Weſer. The French follow him, and take Minden and Emden, and lay Hanover under contribution.* § XLIV. *Battle of Haſtenbeck.* § XLV. *The French take Hamelen. Duke de Richelieu ſuperſedes Mareſchal d'Etrées in the command of the French army.* § XLVI. *The French take poſſeſſion of Hanover and Heſſe-Caſſel.* § XLVII. *And reduce Verden and Bremen. Duke of Cumberland ſigns the convention of Cloſter-Seven.*

§ I. THOUGH the Parliament of Great-Britain unanimouſly concurred in ſtrengthening the hands of government for a vigorous proſecution of the war, thoſe liberal ſupplies had like to have proved ineffectual through a want of harmony in her councils. In the courſe of the laſt year the clamorous voice of diſſatisfaction had been raiſed by a ſeries of diſappointments and miſcarriages, which were imputed to want of intelligence, ſagacity, and vigour in the adminiſtration. The defeat of Braddock, the reduction of Oſwego, and other forts in America,

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America, the delay of armaments, the neglect of opportunities, ineffectual cruizes, abſurd diſpoſitions of fleets and ſquadrons, the diſgrace in the Mediterranean, and the loſs of Minorca, were numbered among the misfortunes that flowed from the crude deſigns of a weak diſpirited miniſtry; and the proſpect of their acquieſcing in a continental war brought them ſtill farther in contempt and deteſtation with the body of the people. In order to conciliate the good-will of thoſe whom their conduct had diſobliged, to acquire a freſh ſtock of credit with their fellow-ſubjects, and remove from their own ſhoulders part of what future cenſure might enſue, they admitted into a ſhare of the adminiſtration a certain ſet of gentlemen, remarkable for their talents and popularity, headed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, eſteemed the two moſt illuſtrious patriots of Great-Britain, alike diſtinguiſhed and admired for their unconquerable ſpirit and untainted integrity. The former of theſe was appointed Secretary of State, the other Chancellor of the Exchequer; and their friends were veſted with other honourable though ſubordinate offices.

§ II. So far the people were charmed with the promotion of individuals, upon whoſe virtues and abilities they had the moſt perfect reliance: but theſe new ingredients would never thoroughly mix with the old leaven. The adminiſtration became an emblem of the image that Nebuchadnezzar ſaw in his dream, the leg was of iron, and the foot was of clay. The old junto found their new aſſociates very unfit for their purpoſes. They could neither perſuade, cajole, nor intimidate them into meaſures which they thought repugnant to the true intereſt of their country. The new miniſters combated in council every ſuch plan, however patroniſed: they openly oppoſed in Parliament every deſign which they deemed unworthy of the Crown, or prejudicial to the people, even though diſtinguiſhed by the predilection

dilection of the Sovereign. Far from bargaining for their places, and ſurrendering their principles by capitulation, they maintained in office their independency and candour with the moſt vigilant circumſpection, and ſeemed determined to ſhow, that he is the beſt miniſter to the Sovereign who acts with the greateſt probity towards the ſubject. Thoſe who immediately ſurrounded the throne were ſuppoſed to have concealed the true characters of theſe faithful ſervants from the knowledge of their Royal Maſter; to have repreſented them as obſtinate, imperious, ignorant, and even lukewarm in their loyalty; and to have declared, that with ſuch colleagues it would be impoſſible to move the machine of government according to his Majeſty's inclination. Theſe ſuggeſtions, artfully inculcated, produced the deſired effect: on the ninth day of April, Mr. Pitt, by his Majeſty's command, reſigned the ſeals of Secretary of State for the ſouthern department. In the room of Mr. Legge, the King was pleaſed to grant the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Right Honourable Lord Mansfield, Chief Juſtice of the Court of King's-Bench, the ſame perſonage whom we have mentioned before under the name of Mr. Murray, Solicitor-General, now promoted and ennobled for his extraordinary merit and important ſervices. The fate of Mr. Pitt was extended to ſome of his principal friends: the Board of Admiralty was changed, and ſome other removals were made with the ſame intention.

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§ III. What was intended as a diſgrace to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge turned out one of the moſt ſhining circumſtances of their characters. The whole nation ſeemed to riſe up, as one man, in the vindication of their fame: every mouth was opened in their praiſe; and a great number of reſpectable cities and corporations preſented them with the freedom of their reſpective ſocieties, encloſed in gold boxes of curious workmanſhip, as teſtimonies of

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their peculiar veneration. What the people highly eſteem, they in a manner idolize. Not contented with making offerings ſo flattering and grateful to conſcious virtue, they conceived the moſt violent prejudices againſt thoſe gentlemen who ſucceeded in the adminiſtration; fully convinced, that the ſame perſons who had ſunk the nation in the preſent diſtreſsful circumſtances, who had brought on her diſhonour, and reduced her to the verge of deſtruction, were by no means the fit inſtruments of her delivery and redemption. The whole kingdom caught fire at the late changes; nor could the power, the cunning, and the artifice of a faction, long ſupport itſelf againſt the united voice of Great-Britain, which ſoon pierced the ears of the Sovereign. It was not poſſible to perſuade the people that ſalutary meaſures could be ſuggeſted or purſued, except by the few, whoſe zeal for the honour of their country, and ſteady adherence to an upright diſintereſted conduct, had ſecured their confidence, and claimed their veneration. A great number of addreſſes, dutifully and loyally expreſſed, ſolicited the King, ever ready to meet half-way the wiſhes of his faithful people, to reſtore Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge to their former employments. Upon this they reſted the ſecurity and honour of the nation, as well as the publick expectation of the ſpeedy and ſucceſsful iſſue of a war, hitherto attended with diſgraces and misfortunes. Accordingly, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to re-deliver the ſeals to Mr. Pitt, appointing him Secretary of State for the ſouthern department, on the twenty-ninth day of June; and, five days after, the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer was reſtored to Mr. Legge: promotions that afforded univerſal ſatisfaction.

§ IV. It would not, perhaps, be poſſible to exclude, from a ſhare in the adminiſtration, all who were not perfectly agreeable to the people: however unpopular the late miniſtry might appear, ſtill they

poſſeſſed ſufficient influence in the Privy-council, and credit in the Houſe of Commons, to thwart every meaſure in which they did not themſelves partake. This conſideration, and very recent experience, probably dictated the neceſſity of a coalition, ſalutary in itſelf, and prudent, becauſe it was the only means of aſſuaging the rage of faction, and healing thoſe diviſions, more pernicious to the publick than the moſt miſtaken and blundering councils. Sir Robert Henley was made Lord-keeper of the Great-Seal, and ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-council, on the thirteenth day of June: the cuſtody of the Privy-Seal was committed to Earl Temple: his Grace the Duke of Newcaſtle, Mr. Legge, Mr. Nugent, Lord Viſcount Duncannon, and Mr. Grenville, were appointed Commiſſioners for executing the office of Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Exchequer: Lord Anſon, Admirals Boſcawen and Forbes, Dr. Hay, Mr. Weſt, Mr. Hunter, and Mr. Elliot, to preſide at the Board of Admiralty: Mr. Fox was gratified with the office of Receiver and Paymaſter-general of all his Majeſty's guards, garriſons, and land-forces: and the Earl of Thomond was made Treaſurer of the King's Houſehold, and ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-council. Other promotions likewiſe took place, with a deſign to gratify the adherents of either party; and ſo equally was the Royal favour diſtributed, that the utmoſt harmony for a long time ſubſiſted. Ingredients, ſeemingly heterogeneous, conſolidated into one uniform maſs, ſo as to produce effects far exceeding the moſt ſanguine expectations; and this prudent arrangement proved diſpleaſing only to thoſe whom violent party-attachment had inſpired with a narrow and excluſive ſpirit.

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§ V. The accumulated loſſes and diſappointments of the preceding year made it abſolutely neceſſary to retrieve the credit of the Britiſh arms and councils by ſome vigorous and ſpirited enterprize, which ſhould, at the ſame time, produce ſome change in

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the circumstances of his Prussian Majesty, already depressed by the repulse at Colin, and in danger of being attacked by the whole power of France, now ready to fall upon him, like a torrent, which had so lately swept before it the army of observation, now on the brink of disgrace, A well-planned and vigorous descent on the coast of France, it was thought, would probably give a decisive blow to the marine of that kingdom, and at the same time effect a powerful diversion in favour of the Prussian Monarch and the Duke of Cumberland, driven from all his posts in the electorate of Hanover, by drawing a part of the French forces to the defence and protection of their own coasts. Both were objects of great concern, upon which the Sovereign and ministry were sedulously bent. His Royal Highness the Duke, in a particular manner, urged the necessity of some enterprize of this nature, as the only expedient to obviate the shameful convention now in agitation. The ministry foresaw, that, by destroying the enemy's shipping, all succours would be cut off from America, whither they were daily transporting troops; the British commerce secured, without those convoys so inconvenient to the Board of Admiralty, and to the merchants; and those ideal fears of an invasion, that had in some measure affected the publick credit, wholly dispelled.

§ VI. From these considerations a powerful fleet was ordered to be got in readiness to put to sea on the shortest notice, and ten regiments of foot were marched to the Isle of Wight. The naval armament, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and transports, was put under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, an officer whose faithful services recommended him, above all others, to this command; and Rear-Admiral Knowles was appointed his subaltern. Sir John Mordaunt was preferred to take the command of the land-forces; and both strictly enjoined to act with

the utmoſt unanimity and harmony. Europe beheld with aſtoniſhment theſe mighty preparations. The deſtination of the armament was wrapped in the moſt profound ſecreſy: it exerciſed the penetration of politicians, and filled France with very ſerious alarms. Various were the impediments which obſtructed the embarkation of the troops for ſeveral weeks, while Mr. Pitt expreſſed the greateſt uneaſineſs at the delay, and repeatedly urged the Commander in chief to expedite his departure; but a ſufficient number of tranſports, owing to ſome blunder in the contractors, had not yet arrived. The troops expreſſed an eager impatience to ſignalize themſelves againſt the enemies of the liberties of Europe; but the ſuperſtitious drew unfavourable preſages from the dilatorineſs of the embarkation. At laſt the tranſports arrived, the troops were put on board with all expedition, and the fleet got under ſail on the eighth day of September, attended with the prayers of every man warmed with the love of his country, and ſolicitous for her honour. The publick, big with expectation, dubious where the ſtroke would fall, but confident of its ſucceſs, were impatient for tidings from the fleet; but it was not till the fourteenth, that even the troops on board began to conjecture that a deſcent was meditated on the coaſt of France, near Rochefort or Lochelle. CHAP. VII. 1757.

§ VII. On the twentieth, the fleet made the Iſle of Oleron, and then Sir Edward Hawke ſent an order to Vice-Admiral Knowles, requiring him, if the wind permitted the fleet, to proceed to Baſque road, to ſtand in as near to the Iſle of Aix as the pilot would carry him, with ſuch ſhips of his diviſion as he thought neceſſary for the ſervice, and to batter the fort till the garriſon ſhould either abandon or ſurrender it. But the immediate execution of this order was fruſtrated by a French ſhip of war's ſtanding in to the very middle of the fleet, and continuing in that ſtation for ſome time before ſhe diſcovered

BOOK III. 1757. covered her miſtake, or any of the Captains had a ſignal thrown out to give chace. Admiral Knowles, when too late, ordered the Magnanime, Captain Howe, and Torbay, Captain Keppel, on that ſervice, and thereby retarded the attack upon which he was immediately ſent. A ſtroke of policy greatly to be admired, as from hence he gained time to aſſure himſelf of the ſtrength of the fortifications of Aix, before he ran his Majeſty's ſhips into danger.

§ VIII. While the above ſhips, with the addition of the Royal William, were attending the French ſhip of war ſafe into the river Garonne, the remainder of the fleet was beating to windward off the Iſle of Oleron; and the Commander in chief publiſhing orders and regulations which did credit to his judgement, and would have been highly uſeful, had there ever been occaſion to put them in execution. On the twenty-third the van of the fleet, led by Captain Howe in the Magnanime, ſtood towards Aix, a ſmall iſland ſituated in the mouth of the river Charente, leading up to Rochefort, the fortifications half finiſhed, and mounted with about thirty cannon and mortars, the garriſon compoſed of ſix hundred men, and the whole iſland about five miles in circumference. As the Magnanime approached, the enemy fired briſkly upon her; but Captain Howe, regardleſs of their faint endeavours, kept on his courſe without flinching, dropping his anchors cloſe to the walls, and poured in ſo inceſſant a fire as ſoon ſilenced their artillery. It was, however, near an hour before the fort ſtruck, when ſome forces were landed to take poſſeſſion of ſo important a conqueſt, with orders to demoliſh the fortifications, the care of which was entruſted to Vice-Admiral Knowles.

§ IX. Inconſiderable as this ſucceſs might appear, it greatly elated the troops, and was deemed an happy omen of further advantages; but, inſtead of embarking the troops that night, as was univerſally expected,

expected, ſeveral ſucceſſive days were ſpent in councils of war, ſoundings of the coaſt, and deliberations whether the King's expreſs orders were practicable, or to be complied with. Eight days were elapſed ſince the firſt appearance of the fleet on the coaſt, and the alarm was given to the enemy. Sir Edward Hawke, indeed, propoſed laying a ſixty gun ſhip againſt Fouras, and battering that fort, which it was thought would help to ſecure the landing of the troops, and facilitate the enterprize on Rochefort. This a French pilot on board (Thierry) undertook; but after a ſhip had been lighted for the purpoſe, Vice-Admiral Knowles reported, that a bomb-ketch had run a-ground at above the diſtance of two miles from the fort; upon which the project of battering or bombarding the fort was abandoned. The Admiral likewiſe propoſed to bombard Rochelle: but this overture was over-ruled, for reaſons which we need not mention. It was at length determined, in a council of war held on the eighth, to make a deſcent, and attack the forts leading to and upon the mouth of the river Charente. An order, in conſequence of this reſolution, was immediately iſſued for the troops to be ready to embark from the tranſports in the boats preciſely at twelve o'clock at night. Accordingly, the boats were prepared, and filled with the men at the time appointed, and now they remained beating againſt each other, and the ſides of the ſhips, for the ſpace of four hours, while the council were determining whether, after all the trouble given, they ſhould land; when, at length, an order was publiſhed for the troops to return to their reſpective tranſports, and all thoughts of a deſcent, to appearance, were wholly abandoned. The ſucceeding days were employed in blowing up and demoliſhing the fortifications of Aix; after which, the land officers, in a council of war, took the final reſolution of returning to England without any further attempts, fully ſatisfied

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fied they had done all in their power to execute the designs of the miniſtry, and chooſing rather to oppoſe the frowns of an angry Sovereign, the murmurs of an incenſed nation, and the contempt of mankind, than fight a handful of daſtardly militia. Such was the iſſue of an expedition that raiſed the expectations of all Europe, threw the coaſts of France into the utmoſt confuſion, and coſt the people of England little leſs than a million of money.

§ X. The fleet was no ſooner returned than the whole nation was in a ferment. The publick expectation had been wound up to the higheſt pitch, and now the diſappointment was proportioned to the ſanguine hopes conceived, that the pride of France would have been humbled by ſo formidable an armament. The miniſtry, and with them the national voice, exclaimed againſt the commanding officers, and the military men retorted the calumny, by laying the blame on the projectors of the enterprize, who had put the nation to great expence before they had obtained the neceſſary information. Certain it was, that blame muſt fall ſomewhere, and the miniſtry reſolved to acquit themſelves and fix the accuſation, by requeſting his Majeſty to appoint a board of officers of character and ability, to enquire into the cauſes of the late miſcarriage. This alone it was that could appeaſe the publick clamours, and afford general ſatisfaction. The enemies of Mr. Pitt endeavoured to wreſt the miſcarriage of the expedition to his prejudice, but the whiſpers of faction were ſoon drowned in the voice of the whole people of England, who never could perſuade themſelves that a gentleman, raiſed to the height of power and popularity by mere dint of ſuperior merit, integrity, and diſintereſtedneſs, would now ſacrifice his reputation by a mock armament, or hazard incurring the deriſion of Europe, by neglecting to obtain all the neceſſary previous information, or doing whatever might contribute to the ſucceſs of the expedition. It

was

was asked whether reason or justice dictated, that a late unfortunate Admiral should be capitally punished for not trying and exerting his utmost ability to relieve Fort St. Philip, invested by a powerful army, and surrounded with a numerous fleet, while no charge of negligence or cowardice was brought against those who occasioned the miscarriage of a well-concerted and well-appointed expedition? The people, they said, were not to be quieted with the resolutions of a council of war, composed of men, whose inactivity might frame excuses for declining to expose themselves to danger. It was publickly mentioned, that such backwardness appeared among the general officers before the fleet reached the Isle of Oleron, as occasioned the Admiral to declare, with warmth, that he would comply with his orders, and go into Basque-road, whatever might be the consequence. It was asked, why the army did not land on the night of the twenty-third or twenty-fourth, and whether the officers, sent out to reconnoitre, had returned with such intelligence as seemed to render a descent impracticable? It was asked whether the Commander in Chief had complied with his Majesty's orders, "To attempt, as far as should be found practicable, a descent on the coast of France, at or near "Rochefort, in order to attack, and, by a vigorous "impression, force that place; and to burn and de-"stroy, to the utmost of his power, all docks, ma-"gazines, arsenals, and shipping, as shall be found "there?" Such rumours as these, every where propagated, rendered an enquiry no less necessary to the reputation of the officers on the expedition, than to the minister who had projected it. Accordingly a board, consisting of three officers of rank, reputation, and ability, was appointed by his Majesty, to enquire into the reasons why the fleet returned without having executed his Majesty's orders.

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§ XI. The three general officers, who met on the twenty-first of the same month, were Charles, Duke of Marlborough, Lieutenant-General, Major-Generals

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nerals Lord George Sackville and John Waldegrave. To judge of the practicability of executing his Majesty's orders, it was necessary to enquire into the nature of the intelligence upon which the expedition was projected. The first and most important was a letter sent to Sir John, afterwards Lord Ligonier, by Lieutenant-Colonel Clark. This letter had been frequently examined in the Privy-Council, and contained, in substance, that Colonel Clark, in returning from Gibraltar, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, had travelled along the western coast of France, to observe the condition of the fortifications, and judge how far a descent would be practicable, in case of a rupture between Great-Britain and France. On his coming to Rochefort, where he was attended by an engineer, he was surprised to find the greatest part of a good rampart, with a revetement, flanked only with redans; no outworks, no covered-way, and, in many places, no ditch, so that the bottom of the wall was seen at a distance. He remembered, that in other places, where the earth had been taken out to form the rampart, there was left round them a considerable height of ground, whence an enemy might draw a great advantage: that for above the length of a front, or two or three hundred yards, there was no rampart, or even entrenchment, but only small ditches, in the low and marshy grounds next the river, which, however, were dry at low water; yet the bottom remained muddy and slimy. Towards the river no rampart, no batteries, no parapet, on either side appeared, and on the landside he observed some high ground within the distance of one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards of the town; in which condition the Colonel was told by the engineer the place had remained for above seventy years. To prevent giving umbrage, he drew no plan of the place, and even burnt the few sketches he had by him: however, as to utility, the Colonel declared himself as much satisfied as if he had

had taken a plan. He could not aſcertain the direct height of the rampart, but thought it could not exceed twenty-five feet, including the parapet. The river might be about one hundred and thirty feet broad, and the entrance defended by two or three ſmall redoubts. As to forces, none are ever garriſoned at Rochefort, except marines, which, at the time the Colonel was on the ſpot, amounted to about one thouſand. This was the firſt intelligence the miniſtry received of the ſtate of Rochefort, which afforded ſufficient room to believe, that an attack by ſurpriſe might be attended with happy conſequences. It was true, that Colonel Clark made his obſervations in time of peace; but it was likewiſe probable, that no great alterations were made on account of the war, as the place had remained in the ſame condition during the two or three laſt wars with France, when they had the ſame reaſons as now to expect their coaſts would be inſulted. The next information was obtained from Joſeph Thierry, a French pilot, of the proteſtant religion, who paſſed ſeveral examinations before the Privy-Council. This perſon declared, that he had followed the buſineſs of a pilot on the coaſt of France for the ſpace of twenty years, and ſerved as firſt pilot in ſeveral of the King's ſhips: that he had, in particular, piloted the Magnanime, before ſhe was taken by the Engliſh, for about twenty-two months, and had often conducted her into the road of the Iſle of Aix; and that he was perfectly acquainted with the entrance, which, indeed, is ſo eaſy as to render a pilot almoſt unneceſſary. The road, he ſaid, afforded good anchorage in twelve or fourteen fathoms water, as far as Bayonne: the channel between the iſlands of Oleron and Rhé was three leagues broad, and the banks neceſſary to be avoided lay near the land, except one called the Boiard, which is eaſily diſcerned by the breakers. He affirmed, that the largeſt veſſels might draw up cloſe to the fort of Aix, which he would undertake the Mag-

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nanime

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manime alone ſhould deſtroy; that the largeſt ſhips might come up to the Vigerot, two miles diſtant from the mouth of the river, with all their cannon and ſtores; that men might be landed to the north of fort Fouras, out of ſight of the fort, upon a meadow where the ground is firm and level, under cover of the cannon of the fleet. This landing place he reckoned at about five miles from Rochefort, the way dry, and no way intercepted by ditches and moraſſes. He ſaid, great part of the city was encompaſſed by a wall; but towards the river, on both ſides, for about ſixty paces, it was encloſed only with palliſades, without a foſſé. To the intelligence of Col. Clark and Thierry, the miniſter added a ſecret account obtained of the ſtrength and diſtribution of the French forces, whence it appeared highly probable that no more than ten thouſand men could be allowed for the defence of the whole coaſt, from St. Valery to Bordeaux. In conſequence of the above information the ſecret expedition was planned; inſtructions were given to Sir John Mordaunt and Admiral Hawke to make a vigorous impreſſion on the French coaſt, and all the other meaſures projected, which, it was imagined, would make an effectual diverſion, by obliging the enemy to employ a great part of their forces at home, diſturb and ſhake the credit of their publick loans, impair the ſtrength and reſources of their navy, diſconcert their extenſive and dangerous operations of war, and, finally, give life, ſtrength, and luſtre to the common cauſe and his Majeſty's arms. The board of enquiry took next into conſideration the ſeveral letters and explanatory inſtructions ſent to Sir John Mordaunt, in conſequence of ſome difficulties which might poſſibly occur, ſtated by that General in letters to the miniſter, previous to his ſailing. Then they examined the report made to Sir Edward Hawke by Admiral Broderick, and the Captains of men of war ſent to ſound the French ſhore from Rochelle to fort Fouras, dated September the twenty-

twenty-ninth; the result of the councils of war on the twenty-fifth and twenty-eighth; Sir Edward Hawke's letter to Sir John Mordaunt on the twenty-seventh, and the General's answer on the twenty-ninth: after which Sir John Mordaunt was called upon to give his reasons for not putting his Majesty's instructions and orders into execution. This he did in substance as follows: The attempt on Rochefort, he understood, was to have been on the footing of a *coup de main* or surprise, which it would be impossible to execute if the design was discovered, or the alarm taken. He also understood that an attempt could not be made, nay, that his Majesty did not require it should, unless a proper place for debarking, and a safe retreat for the troops was discovered, particularly where the ships could protect them; and a safe communication with the fleet, and conveyance of supplies from it, were found. His sentiments, he said, were confirmed by a paper to this purpose, delivered to him by Sir John Ligonier, on his first being appointed to command the expedition. It was likewise probable, he thought, that although Rochefort should have remained in the situation in which Colonel Clark and the pilot Thierry had sent it three years before, yet that a few days preparation could make it sufficiently defensible against a *coup de main*. Judging, therefore, the dependence on such an operation alone improper, he applied to the ministry for two more old battalions, and artillery for a regular attack to force the place, which, from its construction, appeared as difficult to be made defensible against the latter, as easily secured against the former. But this request being refused, he still thought it his duty to obey his orders on the footing on which the expedition was planned, especially as he understood his instructions were discretionary, regarding the circumstances of the time, the condition of the place, and the nature of the service. He recited the positive and credible intel-

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ligence received, as well before the embarkation as during the voyage, of the alarm given to France, and the preparations made along the French coasts from Brest and St. Maloes to Rochefort: the accidents that kept the fleet hovering along the coasts, and prevented the possibility of an attempt by surprise: the reports of all the gentlemen employed in sounding the coasts, so contrary to the intelligence given by Thierry the pilot: the opinion of the council of war, by which he was enjoined to act, and with which his own judgment concurred: the endeavours used, after the twenty-sixth, to find out some expedient for annoying the enemy and executing his Majesty's instructions: the attempt made to land, in consequence of the resolution of the second council of war, which was prevented by boisterous and stormy weather; and, lastly, the reasons that determined him, in concert with the other land officers, to return to England.

§ XII. Having considered all these circumstances, and examined several officers who served in the expedition, the court of enquiry gave in the following report to his Majesty:—"It appears to us, that one cause of the expedition having failed is, the not attacking Fort Fouras by sea, at the same time that it could have been attacked by land, agreeably to the first design, which certainly must have been of the greatest utility towards carrying your Majesty's instructions into execution. It was at first resolved by Admiral Hawke; (Thierry, the pilot, having undertaken the safe conduct of a ship to Fort Fouras for that purpose,) but afterwards laid aside, upon the representation of Vice-Admiral Knowles, that the Barfleur, the ship designed for that service, was a-ground, at the distance of between four and five miles from the shore: but as neither Sir Edward Hawke nor the pilot could attend to give any information upon that head, we cannot presume to offer any certain opinio thereupon. We conceive another cause of the failure

failure of the expedition to have been, that, inſtead of attempting to land when the report was received, on the twenty-fourth of September, from Rear-Admiral Broderick, and the Captains who had been out to ſound and reconnoitre, a council of war was ſummoned and held on the twenty-fifth, in which it was unanimouſly reſolved not to land, as the attempt on Rochefort was neither adviſable nor practicable: but it does not appear to us that there were then or at any time afterwards, either a body of troops or batteries on ſhore ſufficient to have prevented the attempting a deſcent, in purſuance of the inſtructions ſigned by your Majeſty: neither does it appear to us that there were any reaſons ſufficient to induce the council of war to believe that Rochefort was ſo changed in reſpect to its ſtrength, or poſture of defence, ſince the expedition was firſt reſolved on in England, as to prevent all attempts of an attack upon the place, in order to burn and deſtroy the docks, magazines, arſenals, and ſhipping, in obedience to your Majeſty's command. And we think ourſelves obliged to remark, in the council of war on the twenty-eighth of September, that no reaſon could have exiſted ſufficient to prevent the attempt of landing the troops, as the council then unanimouſly reſolved to land with all poſſible diſpatch. We beg leave alſo to remark, that after its being unanimouſly reſolved to land, in the council of war of the twenty-eighth of September, the reſolution was taken of returning to England, without any regular or general meeting of the ſaid council: but as the whole operation was of ſo inconſiderable a nature, we do not offer this to your Majeſty as a cauſe of the failure of the expedition; ſince we cannot but look upon the expedition to have failed from the time the great object of it was laid aſide in the council of war of the twenty-fifth."

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§ XIII. This report, ſigned by the general officers, Marlborough, Sackville, and Waldegrave, proba-

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bly laid the foundation for the Court-martial which ſat ſoon after upon the conduct of the Commander in chief on the expedition. The enemies of the miniſter made a handle of the miſcarriage to leſſen him in the eſteem of the publick, by laying the whole blame on his forming a project ſo expenſive to the nation, on intelligence not only ſlight at the firſt view, but falſe upon further examination. But the people were ſtill his advocates; they diſcerned ſomething myſterious in the whole conduct of the Commander in chief. They plainly perceived that caution took place of vigour, and that the hours for action were ſpent in deliberations and councils of war. Had he debarked the troops, and made ſuch an attack as would have diſtinguiſhed his courage, the voice of the people would have acquitted him, however unſucceſsful, though prudence, perhaps, might have condemned him. Even Braddock's raſhneſs they deemed preferable to Mordaunt's inactivity: the loſs of ſo many brave lives was thought leſs injurious and diſgraceful to the nation, than the too ſafe return of the preſent armament. The one demonſtrated that the Britiſh ſpirit ſtill exiſted; the other ſeemed to indicate the too powerful influence of wealth, luxury, and thoſe manners which tend to debauch and emaſculate the mind. A publick trial of the Commander in chief was expected by the people, and it was graciouſly granted by his Majeſty. It is even thought that Sir John Mordaunt himſelf demanded to have his conduct ſcrutinized, by which method alone he was ſenſible his character could be re-eſtabliſhed. His Majeſty's warrant for holding a Court-martial was accordingly ſigned on the third day of December. The Court was compoſed of nine Lieutenant-generals, nine Major-generals, and three Colonels, who ſat on the fourteenth, and continued, by ſeveral adjournments, to the twentieth. Lieutenant-general Sir John Mordaunt came priſoner before the Court, and the following charge was exhibited againſt

againſt him: namely, That he being appointed, by the King, Commander in chief of his Majeſty's forces ſent on an expedition to the coaſt of France, and having received orders and inſtructions relative thereto from his Majeſty, under his royal ſign-manual, and alſo by one of his principal Secretaries of State, had diſobeyed his Majeſty's ſaid orders and inſtructions. The proceedings of this court were nearly ſimilar to thoſe of the court of enquiry. The ſame evidences were examined, with the addition of Sir Edward Hawke's depoſition; and a defence, differing in no eſſential point from the former, made by the priſoner, but the judgment given was clear and explicit. Sir John Mordaunt was unanimouſly found Not guilty, and therefore acquitted, while the publick opinion remained unaltered, and many perſons inveighed as bitterly againſt the lenity of the preſent Court-martial as they had formerly againſt the ſeverity of the ſentence paſſed upon a late unfortunate Admiral. The evidence of one gentleman in particular drew attention: he was accuſed of tergiverſation, and of ſhowing that partial indulgence which his own conduct required. He publickly defended his character; his performance was cenſured, and himſelf diſmiſſed the ſervice of his Sovereign. CHAP. VII. 1757.

§ XIV. Beſides the diverſion intended by a deſcent on the coaſt of France, ſeveral other methods were employed to amuſe the enemy, as well as to protect the trade of the kingdom, ſecure our colonies in the Weſt-Indies, and inſure the continuance of the extraordinary ſucceſs which had lately bleſſed his Majeſty's arms in the Eaſt-Indies; but theſe we could not mention before without breaking the thread of our narration. On the ninth of February Admiral Weſt ſailed with a ſquadron of men of war to the Weſtward, as did Admiral Coates with the fleet under his convoy to the Weſt-Indies, and Commodore Steevens with the trade to the Eaſt-Indies, in the month of March. Admiral Holbourn

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and Commodore Holms, with eleven ſhips of the line, a fire-ſhip, bomb-ketch, and fifty tranſports, ſailed from St. Helen's for America in April. The Admiral had on board ſix thouſand two hundred effective men, excluſive of officers, under the command of General Hopſon, aſſiſted by Lord Charles Hay. In May, Admiral Oſborne, who had been forced back to Plymouth with his ſquadron by ſtreſs of weather, ſet ſail for the Mediterranean, as did two ſhips of war ſent to convoy the American trade.

§ XV. In the mean time, the privateers fitted out by private merchants and ſocieties greatly annoyed the French commerce. The Antigallican, a private ſhip of war, equipped by a ſociety of men who aſſumed that name, took the Duke de Penthievre Indiaman off the port of Corunna, and carried her into Cadiz. The prize was eſtimated worth two hundred thouſand pounds, and immediate application was made by France to the Court of Spain for reſtitution, while the Proprietors of the Antigallican were ſquandering in mirth, feſtivity, and riot, the imaginary wealth ſo eaſily and unexpectedly acquired. Such were the remonſtrances made to his Catholick Majeſty with reſpect to the illegality of the prize, which the French Eaſt-India Company aſſerted was taken within ſhot of a neutral port, that the Penthievre was firſt violently wreſted out of the hands of the captors, then detained as a depoſit, with ſealed hatches, and a Spaniſh guard on board, till the claims of both parties could be examined, and at laſt adjudged to be an illegal capture, and conſequently reſtored to the French, to the great diſappointment of the owners of the privateer. Beſides the ſucceſs which attended a great number of other privateers, the Lords of the Admiralty publiſhed a liſt of above thirty ſhips of war and privateers taken from the enemy, in the ſpace of four months, by the Engliſh ſloops and ſhips of war, excluſive of the Duke

Duke d'Aquitaine Indiaman, now fitted out as a ſhip of war, taken by the Eagle and Medway; the Pondicherry Indiaman, valued at one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds, taken by the Dover man of war; and above ſix privateers brought into port by the diligent and brave Captain Lockhart, for which he was honoured with a variety of preſents of plate by ſeveral corporations, in teſtimony of their eſteem and regard. This run of good fortune was not, however, without ſome retribution on the ſide of the enemy, who, out of twenty-one ſhips homeward-bound from Carolina, made prize of nineteen, whence the merchants ſuſtained conſiderable damage, and a great quantity of valuable commodities, indigo in particular, was loſt to this country. CHAP. VII. 1757.

§ XVI. Notwithſtanding the large imports of grain from different parts of Europe and America, the artifice of engroſſers ſtill kept up the price of corn. So incenſed were the populace at the iniquitous combinations entered into to fruſtrate the endeavours of the legiſlature, and to oppreſs the poor, that they roſe in a tumultuous manner in ſeveral counties, ſometimes to the number of five or ſix thouſand, and ſeized upon the grain brought to market. Nor was it indeed to be wondered at, conſidering the diſtreſs to which many perſons were reduced. The difficulty of obtaining the neceſſaries of life raiſed the price of labour at the moſt unſeaſonable time, when all manufacturers were overſtocked for want of a proper market, which obliged them to diſmiſs above half the hands before employed. Hence aroſe the moſt pitiable condition of ſeveral thouſands of uſeful induſtrious ſubjects; a calamity attended only with one advantage to the publick, namely, the facility with which recruits were raiſed for his Majeſty's ſervice. At laſt the plentiful crops with which it pleaſed Providence to bleſs theſe kingdoms, the prodigious quantities of corn imported from foreign countries, and the wiſe meaſures of the legiſlature,

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broke all the villanous ſchemes ſet on foot by the foreſtallers and engroſſers, and reduced the price of corn to the uſual ſtandard. The publick joy on this event was greatly augmented by the ſafe arrival of the fleet from the Leeward iſlands, conſiſting of ninety-two ſail, and of the Straits fleet, eſteemed worth three millons ſterling, whereby the ſilk manufacturers in particular were again employed, and their diſtreſſes relieved. About the ſame time the India Company was highly elated with the joyful account of the ſafe arrival and ſpirited conduct of three of their Captains, attacked in their paſſage homeward by two French men of war, one of ſixty-four, the other of twenty-ſix guns. After a warm engagement, which continued for three hours, they obliged the French ſhips to ſheer off, with ſcarce any loſs on their own ſide. When the engagement began, the Captains had promiſed a reward of a thouſand pounds to the crews, by way of inciterment to their valour; and the company doubled the ſum, in recompence of their fidelity and courage. His Majeſty having taken into conſideration the incredible damage ſuſtained by the commerce of theſe kingdoms, for want of proper harbours and forts on the weſtern coaſt to receive and protect merchantmen, was graciouſly pleaſed to order, that a temporary ſecurity ſhould be provided for the ſhipping which might touch at Milford-haven, until the fortifications voted in Parliament could be erected. How far his Majeſty's directions were complied with, the number of merchant-ſhips taken by the enemy's privateers upon that coaſt ſufficiently indicated.

§ XVII. Whatever reaſons the Government had to expect the campaign ſhould be vigorouſly puſhed in America, almoſt every circumſtance turned out contrary to expectation. Not all the endeavours of the Earl of Loudoun to quiet the diſſenſions among the different provinces, and to eſtabliſh unanimity and harmony, could prevail. Circumſtances required

required that he ſhould act the part of a mediator, in order to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies for proſecuting the war, without which it was impoſſible he could appear in the character of a General. The enemy, in the mean time, were purſuing the blow given at Oſwego, and taking advantage of the diſtraction that appeared in the Britiſh councils. By their ſucceſſes in the preceding campaign, they remained maſters of all the lakes. Hence they were furniſhed with the means of practiſing on the Indians in all the different diſtricts, and obliging them, by rewards, promiſes, and menaces, to act in their favour. Every acceſſion to their ſtrength was a real diminution of that of the Britiſh Commander; but then the ignorance or puſillanimity of ſome of the inferior officers in our back ſettlements was, in effect, more beneficial to the enemy than all the vigilance and activity of Montcalm. In conſequence of the ſhameful loſs of Oſwego, they voluntarily abandoned to the mercy of the French General the whole country of the Five Nations, the only body of Indians who had inviolably performed their engagements, or indeed who had preſerved any ſincere regard for the Britiſh government. The communication with theſe faithful allies was now cut off, by the imprudent demolition of the forts we poſſeſſed at the great Carrying-place. A ſtrong fort, indeed, was built at Wincheſter, and called Fort Loudoun, after the Commander in chief, and four hundred Cherokee Indians joined the Engliſh forces at Fort Cumberland: but this reinforcement by no means counterbalanced the loſſes ſuſtained in conſequence of our having imprudently ſtopped up Wood-creek, and filled it with logs. Every perſon, the leaſt acquainted with the country, readily perceived the weakneſs of theſe meaſures, by which our whole frontier was left open and expoſed to the irruption of the ſavages in the French intereſt, who would not fail to profit by our blunders, too notorious to

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BOOK III. 1757. eſcape them. By the removal of theſe barriers, a path was opened to our fine ſettlements on thoſe grounds called the German Flats, and along the Mohawk's river, which the enemy deſtroyed with fire and ſword before the end of the campaign.

§ XVIII. In the mean time, Lord Loudoun was taking the moſt effectual ſteps to unite the provinces, and raiſe a force ſufficient to give ſome deciſive blow. The attack on Crown-Point, which had been ſo long meditated, was laid aſide, as of leſs importance than the intended expedition to Louiſbourg, now ſubſtituted in its place, and undoubtedly a more conſiderable object in itſelf. Admiral Holbourn arrived at Halliſax, with the ſquadron and tranſports under his command, on the ninth of July; and it was his Lordſhip's intention to repair thither with all poſſible diligence, in order to take upon him the command of the expedition; but a variety of accidents interpoſed. It was with the utmoſt difficulty he at length aſſembled a body of ſix thouſand men, with which he inſtantly began his march to join the troops lately arrived from England. When the junction was effected, the whole forces amounted to twelve thouſand men; an army that raiſed great expectations. Immediately ſome ſmall veſſels were ſent out to examine and reconnoitre the condition of the enemy, and the intermediate time was employed in embarking the troops, as ſoon as the tranſports arrived. The return of the ſcouts totally altered the face of affairs: they brought the unwelcome news, that M. de Bois de la Mothe, who ſailed in the month of May from Breſt with a large fleet of ſhips of war and tranſports, was now ſafe at anchor in the harbour of Louiſbourg. Their intelligence was ſupported by the teſtimony of ſeveral deſerters; yet ſtill it wanted confirmation, and many perſons believed their account of the enemy's ſtrength greatly magnified. Such advices, however, could not but occaſion extraordinary fluctuations in

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the councils of war at Halliſax. Some were for ſetting aſide all thoughts of the expedition for that ſeaſon; while others, more warm in their diſpoſitions, and ſanguine in their expectations, were for proſecuting it with vigour, in ſpite of all dangers and difficulties. Their diſputes were carried on with great vehemence, when a packet bound from Louiſbourg in France, was taken by one of the Engliſh ſhips ſtationed at Newfoundland. She had letters on board, which put the enemy's ſuperiority beyond all doubt, at leaſt by ſea. It clearly appeared, there were at that time in Louiſbourg ſix thouſand regular troops, three thouſand natives, and one thouſand three hundred Indians, with ſeventeen ſhips of the line, and three frigates moored in the harbour; that the place was well ſupplied with ammunition, proviſion, and every kind of military ſtores; and that the enemy wiſhed for nothing more than an attack, which it was probable would terminate to the diſgrace of the aſſailants, and ruin of the Britiſh affairs in America. The Commanders at Halliſax were fully appriſed of the conſequences of an unſucceſsful attempt; it was, therefore, almoſt unanimouſly reſolved to poſtpone the expedition to ſome more convenient opportunity, eſpecially as the ſeaſon was now far advanced, which alone would be ſufficient to fruſtrate their endeavours, and render the enterpriſe abortive. This reſolution ſeems, indeed, to have been the moſt eligible in their circumſtances, whatever conſtructions might afterwards be given, with intention to prejudice the publick againſt the Commander in chief.

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§ XIX. Lord Loudoun's departure from New-York, with all the forces he was able to collect, afforded the Marquis de Montcalm the faireſt occaſion of improving the ſucceſſes of the former campaign. That General had, in the very commencement of the ſeaſon, made three different attacks on Fort William-Henry, in all of which he was repulſed by

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by the vigour and reſolution of the garriſon. But his diſappointment here was balanced by an advantage gained by a party of regulars and Indians at Ticonderoga. Colonel John Parker, with a detachment of near four hundred men, went by water, in whale and bay boats, to attack the enemy's advanced guard at that place. Landing at night on an iſland, he ſent before dawn three boats to the main land, which the enemy waylaid and took. Having procured the neceſſary intelligence from the priſoners of the Colonel's deſigns, they contrived their meaſures, placed three hundred men in ambuſh behind the point where he propoſed landing, and ſent three batteauz to the place of rendezvous. Colonel Parker miſtaking theſe for his own boats, eagerly put to ſhore, was ſurrounded by the enemy, reinforced with four hundred men, and attacked with ſuch impetuoſity, that, of the whole detachment, only two officers and ſeventy private men eſcaped. Fluſhed with this advantage, animated by the abſence of the Britiſh Commander in chief, then at Halifax, and fired with a deſire to revenge the diſgrace he had lately ſuſtained before Fort Henry, Montcalm drew together all his forces, with intention to lay ſiege to that place. Fort William-Henry ſtands on the ſouthern coaſt of Lake George; it was built with a view to protect and cover the frontiers of the Engliſh colonies, as well as to command the lake: the fortifications were good, defended by a garriſon of near three thouſand men, and covered by an army of four thouſand, under the conduct of General Webb, poſted at no great diſtance. When the Marquis de Montcalm had aſſembled all the forces at Crown-Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent poſts, together with a conſiderable body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in the whole to near ten thouſand men, he marched directly to the fort, made his approaches, and began to batter it with a numerous train of artillery. On the very

very day he inveſted the place, he ſent a letter to Colonel Monro, the Governor, telling him, he thought himſelf obliged, in humanity, to deſire he would ſurrender the fort, and not provoke the great number of ſavages in the French army by a vain reſiſtance. "A detachment of your garriſon has "lately," ſays he, "experienced their cruelty; I "have it yet in my power to reſtrain them, and "oblige them to obſerve a capitulation, as none of "the mhitherto are killed. Your perſiſting in the "defence of your fort can only retard its fate a few "days, and muſt of neceſſity expoſe an unfortunate "garriſon, who can poſſibly receive no relief, con-"ſidering the precautions taken to prevent it. I de-"mand a deciſive anſwer, for which purpoſe I have "ſent the Sieur Funtbrune, one of my aids-du-"camp. You may credit what he will inform you "of, from Montcalm." General Webb beheld his preparations with an indifference and ſecurity bordering on infatuation. It is credibly reported, that he had private intelligence of all the French General's deſigns and motions; yet, either deſpiſing his ſtrength, or diſcrediting the information, he neglected collecting the militia in time, which, in conjunction with his own forces, would probably have obliged Montcalm to relinquiſh the attempt, or at leaſt, have rendered his ſucceſs very doubtful and hazardous. The enemy meeting with no diſturbance from the quarter they moſt dreaded, proſecuted the ſiege with vigour, and were warmly received by the garriſon, who fired with great ſpirit till they had burſt almoſt all their cannon, and expended their ammunition. Neither Montcalm's promiſes or threats could prevail upon them to ſurrender, while they were in a condition to defend themſelves, or could reaſonably expect aſſiſtance from General Webb. They even perſiſted to hold out after prudence dictated they ought to ſurrender. Colonel Monro was ſenſible of the importance of his

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charge, and imagined that General Webb, though ſlow in his motions, would ſurely make ſome vigorous efforts either to raiſe the ſiege, or force a ſupply of ammunition, proviſion, and other neceſſaries, into the garriſon. At length neceſſity obliged him, after ſuſtaining a ſiege from the third to the ninth day of Auguſt, to hang out a flag of truce, which was immediately anſwered by the French Commander. Hoſtages were exchanged, and articles of capitulation ſigned by both parties. It was ſtipulated, that the garriſon of Fort William-Henry, and the troops in the retrenched camp, ſhould march out with their arms, the baggage of the officers and ſoldiers, and all the uſual neceſſaries of war, eſcorted by a detachment of French troops, and interpreters attached to the ſavages: that the gate of the fort ſhould be delivered to the troops of the Moſt Chriſtian King, immediately after ſigning the capitulation; and the retrenched camp, on the departure of the Britiſh forces: that the artillery, warlike ſtores, proviſion, and in general every thing, except the effects of ſoldiers and officers, ſhould, upon honour, be delivered to the French troops; for which purpoſe it was agreed there ſhould be delivered, with the capitulation, an exact inventory of the ſtores and other particulars ſpecified; that the garriſon of the fort, and the troops in the retrenchment and dependencies, ſhould not ſerve for the ſpace of eighteen months, from the date of the capitulation, againſt his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, or his allies: that with the capitulation there ſhould be delivered an exact ſtate of the troops, ſpecifying the names of the officers, engineers, artillery men, commiſſaries, and all employed: that the officers and ſoldiers, Canadians, women, and ſavages, made priſoners by land ſince the commencement of the war in North-America, ſhould be delivered in the ſpace of three months at Carillon; in return for whom an equal number of the garriſon of Fort William-

liam-Henry ſhould be capacitated to ſerve agreeably to the return given by the Engliſh officer, and the receipt of the French commanding officers, of the priſoners ſo delivered: that an officer ſhould remain as an hoſtage, till the ſafe return of the eſcort ſent with the troops of his Britannick Majeſty: that the ſick and wounded, not in a condition to be tranſported to Fort Edward, ſhould remain under the protection of the Marquis de Montcalm; who engaged to uſe them with tenderneſs and humanity, and to return them as ſoon as recovered: that proviſion for two days ſhould be iſſued out for the Britiſh troops: that in teſtimony of his eſteem and reſpect for Colonel Monro and his garriſon, on account of their gallant defence, the Marquis de Montcalm ſhould return one cannon, a ſix-pounder.—Whether the Marquis de Montcalm was really aſſiduous to have theſe articles punctually executed we cannot pretend to determine; but certain it is, they were perfidiouſly broke, in almoſt every inſtance. The ſavages in the French intereſt either paid no regard to the capitulation, or were permitted, from views of policy, to act the moſt treacherous, inhuman, and inſidious part. They fell upon the Britiſh troops as they marched out, deſpoiled them of their few remaining effects, dragged the Indians in the Engliſh ſervice out of their ranks, and aſſaſſinated them with circumſtances of unheard-of barbarity. Some Britiſh ſoldiers, with their wives and children, are ſaid to have been ſavagely murdered by thoſe brutal Indians, whoſe ferocity the French Commander could not effectually reſtrain. The greater part of the Engliſh garriſon, however, arrived at Fort Edward, under the protection of the French eſcort. The enemy demoliſhed the fort, carried off the effects, proviſion, artillery, and every thing elſe left by the garriſon, together with the veſſels preſerved in the lake, and departed, without purſuing their ſucceſs by any other attempt. Thus

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ended the third campaign in America, where, with an evident ſuperiority over the enemy, an army of twenty thouſand regular troops, a great number of provincial forces, and a prodigious naval power, not leſs than twenty ſhips of the line, we abandoned our allies, expoſed our people, ſuffered them to be cruelly maſſacred in ſight of our troops, and relinquiſhed a large and valuable tract of country, to the eternal reproach and diſgrace of the Britiſh name.

§ XX. As to the naval tranſactions in this country, though leſs infamous, they were not leſs unfortunate. Immediately on Lord Loudoun's departure from Halifax, Admiral Holbourn, now freed from the care of the tranſports, ſet ſail for Louiſbourg, with fifteen ſhips of the line, one ſhip of fifty guns, three ſmall frigates, and a fire-ſhip. What the object of this cruiſe might have been can only be conjectured. Some imagine curioſity was the Admiral's ſole motive, and the deſire of informing himſelf with certainty of the enemy's ſtrength, while others perſuade themſelves that he was in hopes of drawing M. de la Mothe to an engagement, notwithſtanding his ſuperiority in number of ſhips and weight of metal. Be this as it may, the Britiſh ſquadron appeared off Louiſbourg on the twentieth day of Auguſt, and approaching within two miles of the batteries, ſaw the French Admiral make the ſignal to unmoor. Mr. Holbourn was greatly inferior in ſtrength, and it is obvious that his deſign was not to fight the enemy, as he immediately made the beſt of his way to Halifax. About the middle of September, being reinforced with four ſhips of the line, he again proceeded to Louiſbourg, probably with intention, if poſſible, to draw the enemy to an engagement; but he found De la Mothe too prudent to hazard an unneceſſary battle, the loſs of which would have greatly expoſed all the French colonies. Here the Engliſh ſquadron continued cruiſing until the twenty-fifth, when they were

were overtaken by a terrible ſtorm from the ſouth- CHAP. VII.
ward. When the hurricane began, the fleet were about forty leagues diſtant from Louiſbourg: but were driven in twelve hours, within two miles of the rocks and breakers on that coaſt, when the wind providentially ſhifted. The ſhip Tilbury was wrecked upon the rocks, and half her crew drowned. Eleven ſhips were diſmaſted, others threw their guns overboard; and all returned in a very ſhattered condition to England, at a very unfavourable ſeaſon of the year. In this manner ended the expedition to Louiſbourg, more unfortunate to the nation than the preceding deſigns upon Rochefort; leſs diſgraceful to the commanders, but equally the occaſion of ridicule and triumph to our enemies. Indeed, the unhappy conſequences of the political diſputes at home, the inſtability of the adminiſtration, and the frequent revolutions in our councils, were ſtrongly manifeſted by that languor infuſed into all our military operations, and general unſteadineſs in our purſuits. Faction, in the mother-country, produced diviſions and miſconduct in the colonies. No ambition to ſignalize themſelves appeared among the officers, from the uncertainty whether their ſervices were to be rewarded or condemned. Their attachment to particular perſons, weakened the love they ought to have entertained for their country in general, and deſtroyed that ſpirit of enterprize, that firmneſs and reſolution which conſtitutes the commander, and without which the beſt capacity, joined to the moſt uncorruptible integrity, can effect nothing. 1757.

§ XXI. The French King not only exerted himſelf againſt the Engliſh in America, but even extended his operations to their ſettlements in Africa, which he ſent one of his naval commanders, with a ſmall ſquadron, to reduce. This gentleman, whoſe name was Kerſin, had ſcoured the coaſt of Guinea, and made prize of ſeveral Engliſh trading ſhips:

BOOK III. 1757. but his chief aim was to reduce the caſtle at Cape-coaſt, of which had he gained poſſeſſion, the other ſubordinate forts would have ſubmitted without oppoſition. When Mr. Bell, the Governor of this caſtle, received intelligence that M. de Kerſin was a few leagues to windward, and certainly intended to attack Cape-coaſt, his whole garriſon did not exceed thirty white men, excluſive of a few Mulatto ſoldiers: his ſtock of ammunition was reduced to half a barrel of gunpowder; and his fortifications were ſo crazy and inconſiderable, that, in the opinion of the beſt engineers, they could not have ſuſtained for twenty minutes the fire of one great ſhip, had it been properly directed and maintained. In theſe circumſtances, few people would have dreamed of making any preparation for defence; but Mr. Bell entertained other ſentiments, and acquitted himſelf with equal courage and diſcretion. He forthwith procured a ſupply of gunpowder, and a reinforcement of about fifty men, from certain trading veſſels that happened to be upon that part of the coaſt. He mounted ſome ſpare cannon upon an occaſional battery, and aſſembling a body of twelve hundred negroes, well armed, under the command of their chief, on whoſe attachment he could depend, and ordered them to take poſt at the place where he apprehended the enemy would attempt a landing. Theſe precautions were hardly taken, when the French ſquadron, conſiſting of two ſhips of the line and a large frigate, appeared, and in a little time their attack began; but they met with ſuch a warm reception, that in leſs than two hours they deſiſted, leaving the caſtle very little damaged, and immediately made ſail for the Weſt-Indies, very much to the diſappointment and mortification of the Dutch officers belonging to the fort of Elmina, in the ſame neighbourhood, who made no ſcruple of expreſſing their wiſhes publickly in favour of the French Commodore, and at a diſtance viewed the engagement with the

the moſt partial eagerneſs and impatience. M. de Kerſin was generally blamed for his want of conduct and reſolution in this attempt: but he is ſaid to have been deceived in his opinion of the real ſtate of Cape-coaſt caſtle, by the vigorous and reſolute exertions of the Governor, and was apprehenſive of loſing a maſt in the engagement; a loſs which he could not have repaired on the whole coaſt of Africa. Had the fort of Cape-coaſt been reduced on this occaſion, in all probability every petty republick of the negroes, ſettled under the protection of the forts on the Gold-coaſt, would have revolted from the Britiſh intereſt: for while the French ſquadron, in their progreſs along ſhore, hovered in the offing at Annamaboe, an Engliſh ſettlement a few leagues to leeward of Cape-coaſt, John Corrantee, the caboceiro, chief magiſtrate and general of the Blacks on that part of the coaſt, whoſe adopted ſon had a few years before been careſſed, and even treated as a Prince in England, taking it for granted that this enterprize of the French would be attended with ſucceſs, actually ſent ſome of his dependants, with a preſent of refreſhments for their Commodore; the delivery of which, however, was prevented by Mr. Brew, the Engliſh chief of the fort, who ſhattered in pieces the canoe before it could be launched, and threatened with his cannon to level the black town with the duſt. The caboceira, though thus anticipated in his deſign, reſolved to be among the firſt who ſhould compliment M. de Kerſin on his victory at Cape-coaſt; and, with this view, prepared an embaſſy or deputation to go there by land; but underſtanding that the French had failed in their attempt, he ſhifted his deſign, without the leaſt heſitation, and diſpatched the ſame embaſſy to Mr. Bell, whom he congratulated on his victory, aſſuring him he had kept his men ready armed to march at the firſt ſummons to his aſſiſtance.

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§ XXII. In the Eaſt-Indies the ſcene was changed greatly to the honour and advantage of Great-Britain. There the Commanders acted with that harmony, ſpirit, and unanimity becoming Britons, zealous for the credit of their King and the intereſt of their country. We left Admiral Watſon and Colonel Clive, advancing to Calcutta, to revenge the cruel tragedy acted upon their countrymen the preceding year. On the twenty-eighth of December, the fleet proceeded up the river: next day Colonel Clive landed, and, with the aſſiſtance of the ſquadron, in twenty-four hours, made himſelf maſter of Buſbudgia, a place of great ſtrength, though very ill defended. On the firſt of January the Admiral, with two ſhips, appeared before the town of Calcutta, and was received by a briſk fire from the batteries. This ſalute was returned ſo warmly, that the enemy's guns were ſoon ſilenced, and in leſs than two hours the place and fort were abandoned. Colonel Clive, on the other ſide, had inveſted the town, and made his attack with that vigour and intrepidity peculiar to himſelf, which greatly contributed to the ſudden reduction of the ſettlement. As ſoon as the fort was ſurrendered, the brave and active Captain Coote, with his Majeſty's troops, took poſſeſſion, and found ninety-one pieces of cannon, four mortars, abundance of ammunition, ſtores, and proviſion, with every requiſite for ſuſtaining an obſtinate ſiege. Thus the Engliſh were re-eſtabliſhed in the two ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in the Ganges, with the inconſiderable loſs of nine ſeamen killed, and three ſoldiers. A few days after, Hughley, a city of great trade, ſituated higher up the river, was reduced with as little difficulty, but infinitely greater prejudice to the Nabob, as here his ſtorehouſes of ſalt, and vaſt granaries for the ſupport of his army, were burnt and deſtroyed. Incenſed at the almoſt inſtantaneous loſs of all his conqueſts, and demolition of the city of Hughley, the Viceroy of Bengal diſcouraged all advances to an accommo-

accommodation which was propoſed by the Admiral and Chiefs of the Company, and aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand horſe and fifteen thouſand foot, fully reſolved to expel the Engliſh out of his dominions, and take ample vengeance for the diſgraces he had lately ſuſtained. He was ſeen marching by the Engliſh camp in his way to Calcutta on the ſecond of February, where he encamped, about a mile from the town. Colonel Clive immediately made application to the Admiral for a reinforcement; and ſix hundred men, under the command of Captain Warwick, were accordingly drafted from the different ſhips, and ſent to aſſiſt his little army. Clive drew out his forces, advanced in three columns towards the enemy, and began the attack ſo vigorouſly, that the Viceroy retreated, after a feeble reſiſtance, with the loſs of a thouſand men killed, wounded, and taken priſoners, five hundred horſes, great numbers of draft bullocks, and four elephants. Though this advantage was leſs deciſive than could be wiſhed, yet it ſufficiently intimidated the Nabob into conceſſions much to the honour and advantage of the Company. Admiral Watſon gave him to underſtand in a letter, that this was no more than a ſpecimen of what the Britiſh arms, when provoked, could perform. The Suba deſired the negociation might be renewed, and in a few days the treaty was concluded. He promiſed not to diſturb the Engliſh in any of thoſe privileges or poſſeſſions ſpecified in the firm, and granted by the Mogul: That all merchandize belonging to the Company ſhould paſs and repaſs, in every part of the province of Bengal, free of duty: that all the Engliſh factories ſeized the preceding year, or ſince, ſhould be reſtored, with the money, goods, and effects appertaining: that all damages ſuſtained by the Engliſh ſhould be repaired, and their loſſes repaid: that the Engliſh ſhould have liberty to fortify Calcutta in whatever manner they thought proper without interruption:

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§ XXIII. Such were the terms obtained for the Company, by the ſpirited and gallant conduct of the two Engliſh commanders. They had, however, too much diſcernment to rely on the promiſes of a barbarian, who had ſo perfidiouſly broke former engagements; but they prudently diſſembled their ſentiments, until they had thoroughly reinſtated the affairs of the Company, and reduced the French power in this province. In order to adjuſt the points that required diſcuſſion, the ſelect committee for the company's affairs appointed Mr. Watts, who had been releaſed from his former impriſonment, as their commiſſary at the Court of the Suba, to whom he was perſonally known, as well as to his miniſters, among whom he had acquired a conſiderable influence. Nothing leſs could have balanced the intereſt which the French, by their art of intriguing, had raiſed among the favourites of the Viceroy. While Mr. Watts was employed at Muxadavad, in counterworking thoſe intrigues, and keeping the Suba ſteady to his engagements, the Admiral and Mr. Clive reſolved to avail themſelves of their armament in attacking the French ſettlements in Bengal. The chief object of their deſigns was the reduction of Chandernagore, ſituated higher up the river than Calcutta, of conſiderable ſtrength, and the chief in importance of any poſſeſſed by that nation in the bay. Colonel Clive being reinforced by three hundred men from Bombay, began his march to Chandernagore, at the head of ſeven hundred Europeans and one thouſand ſix hundred Indians, where, on his

firſt

first arrival, he took possession of all the out-posts except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he left to be silenced by the Admiral. On the eighteenth of March the Admirals Watson and Pococke arrived within two miles of the French settlement, with the Kent, Tiger, and Salisbury men of war, and found their passage obstructed by booms laid across the river, and several vessels sunk in the channel. These difficulties being removed, they advanced early on the twenty-fourth, and drew up in a line before the fort, which they battered with great fury for three hours; while Colonel Clive was making his approaches on the land side, and playing vigorously from the batteries he had raised. Their united efforts soon obliged the enemy to submission. A flag of truce was waved over the walls, and the place surrendered by capitulation. The keys were delivered to Captain Latham, of the Tiger; and in the afternoon Colonel Clive, with the King's troops, took possession. Thus the reduction of a strong fortress, garrisoned by five hundred Europeans, and one thousand two hundred Indians, defended by one hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon, and three mortars, well provided with all kinds of stores and necessaries, and of very great importance to the enemy's commerce in India, was accomplished with a loss not exceeding forty men on the side of the conquerors. By the treaty of capitulation the director, counsellors, and inferior servants of the settlement, were allowed to depart with their wearing apparel: the Jesuits were permitted to take away their church ornaments, and the natives to remain in the full exertion of their liberties; but the garrison were to continue prisoners of war. The goods and money found in the place were considerable; but the principal advantage arose from the ruin of the head settlement of the enemy on the Ganges, which could not but interfere with the English commerce in these parts.

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§ XXIV. Succeſs had hitherto attended all the operations of the Britiſh Commanders, becauſe they were concerted with foreſight and unanimity; and executed with that vigour and ſpirit which deſervedly raiſed them high in the eſteem of their country. They reduced the Nabob to reaſonable terms of accommodation before they alarmed the French; and now the power of the latter was deſtroyed, they entered upon meaſures to oblige the treacherous Viceroy to a ſtrict performance of the treaty he had ſo lately ſigned. However ſpecious his promiſes were, they found him extremely dilatory in the execution of ſeveral articles of the treaty, which, in effect, was the ſame to the Engliſh commerce as if none had been concluded. The Company's goods were loaded with high duties, and ſeveral other infractions of the peace committed, upon ſuch frivolous pretences, as evidently demonſtrated that he ſought to come to an open rupture as ſoon as his projects were ripe for execution. In a word, he diſcovered all along a manifeſt partiality to the French, whoſe emiſſaries, cajoled him with promiſes that he ſhould be joined by ſuch a body of their European troops, under M. de Buſſy, as would enable him to cruſh the power of the Engliſh, whom they had taught him to fear and to hate. As recommencing hoſtilities againſt ſo powerful a Prince was in itſelf dangerous, and, if poſſible, to be avoided, the affair was laid before the Council of Calcutta, and canvaſſed with all the circumſpection and caution that a meaſure required, on which depended the fate of the whole trade of Bengal. Mr. Watts, from time to time, ſent them intelligence of every tranſaction in the Suba's cabinet; and although that Prince publickly declared he would cauſe him to be impaled as ſoon as the Engliſh troops ſhould be put in motion within the kingdom of Bengal, he bravely ſacrificed his own ſafety to the intereſt of the Company, and exhorted them to proceed with vigour in their military operations.

During

During theſe deliberations a moſt fortunate incident occurred, that ſoon determined the Council to come to an open rupture. The leading perſons in the Viceroy's court found themſelves oppreſſed by his haughtineſs and inſolence. The ſame ſpirit of diſcontent appeared among the principal officers of his army: they were well acquainted with his perfidy, ſaw his preparations for war, and were ſenſible that the peace of the country could never be reſtored, unleſs either the Engliſh were expelled, or the Nabob depoſed. In conſequence, a plan was concerted for diveſting him of all his power; and the conſpiracy was conducted by Jaffier Ali Khan, his prime Miniſter and chief Commander, a nobleman of great influence and authority in the province. The project was communicated by Ali Khan, to Mr. Watts, and ſo improved by the addreſs of that gentleman, as in a manner to enſure ſucceſs. A treaty was actually concluded between this Meer Jaffier Ali Khan and the Engliſh Company; and a plan concerted with this nobleman and the other malcontents for their defection from the Viceroy. Theſe previous meaſures being taken, Colonel Clive was ordered to take the field with his little army. Admiral Watſon undertook the defence of Chandernagore, and the garriſon was detached to reinforce the Colonel, together with fifty ſeamen to be employed as gunners, and in directing the artillery. Then Mr. Watts, deceiving the Suba's ſpies, by whom he was ſurrounded, withdrew himſelf from Muxadavad, and reached the Engliſh camp in ſafety. On the nineteenth of June a detachment was ſent to attack Cutwa fort and town, ſituated on that branch of the river forming the iſland of Caſſimbuzar. This place ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons; and here the Colonel halted with the army for three days, expecting advices from Ali Khan. Diſappointed of the hoped-for intelligence, he croſſed the river, and marched to Plaiſſey, where he encamped. On the twenty-third, at day-break, the

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the Engliſh Company was reſtored, and increaſed beyond their moſt ſanguine hopes; a new ally was acquired, whoſe intereſt obliged him to remain firm to his engagements: a vaſt ſum was paid to the Company and the ſufferers at Calcutta, to indemnify them for their loſſes: the ſoldiers and ſeamen were gratified with ſix hundred thouſand pounds, as a reward for the courage and intrepidity they exerted; and a variety of other advantages gained, which it would be unneceſſary to enumerate. In a word, in the ſpace of fourteen days a great revolution was effected, and the government of a vaſt country, ſuperior in wealth, fertility, extent, and number of inhabitants to moſt European kingdoms, transferred by a handful of troops, conducted by an officer untutored in the art of war, and a General rather by intuition, than inſtruction and experience. But the publick joy at theſe ſignal ſucceſſes was conſiderably diminiſhed by the death of Admiral Watſon, and the loſs of Vizagapatam, an Engliſh ſettlement on the Coromandel coaſt. The Admiral fell a victim to the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate, on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, univerſally eſteemed and regretted; and the factory and fort at Vizagapatam were ſurrendered to the French, a few days after Colonel Clive had defeated the Nabob. CHAP. VII. 1757.

§ XXV. We now turn our eyes to the continent of Europe, where we ſee the beginning of the year marked with a ſtriking inſtance of the dreadful effects of frantick enthuſiaſm. France had long enjoyed a Monarch, eaſy, complying, good-natured, and averſe to all that wore the appearance of buſineſs or of war. Contented with the pleaſures of indolence, he ſought no greatneſs beyond what he enjoyed, nor purſued any ambitious aim through the dictates of his own diſpoſition. Of all men on earth ſuch a Prince had the greateſt reaſon to expect an exemption from plots againſt his perſon, and cabals among his ſubjects; yet was an attempt made upon

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upon his life by a man, who, though placed in the loweſt ſphere of fortune, had reſolution to face the greateſt dangers, and enthuſiaſm ſufficient to ſuſtain, without ſhrinking, all the tortures which the cruelty of man could invent, or his crimes render neceſſary. The name of this fanatick was Robert Francis Damien, born in the ſuburb of St. Catharine, in the city of Arras. He had lived in the ſervice of ſeveral families, whence he was generally diſmiſſed on account of the impatience, the melancholy, and ſullenneſs of his diſpoſition. So humble was the ſtation of a perſon, who was reſolved to ſtep forth from obſcurity, and, by one deſperate effort, draw upon himſelf the attention of all Europe. On the fifth day of January, as the King was ſtepping into his coach, to return to Trianon, whence he had that day come to Verſailles, Damien, mingling among his attendants, ſtabbed him with a knife on the right ſide, between the fourth and fifth ribs. His Majeſty applying his hand immediately to his ſide, cried out, "I am wounded! Seize him; but "do not hurt him." Happily, the wound was not dangerous; as the knife, taking an oblique direction, miſſed the vital parts. As for the aſſaſſin he made no attempts to eſcape; but ſuffering himſelf quietly to be ſeized, was conveyed to the guard-room, where, being interrogated if he committed the horrid action, he boldly anſwered in the affirmative. A proceſs againſt him was inſtantly commenced at Verſailles: many perſons, ſuppoſed acceſſaries to the deſign upon the King's life, were ſent to the Baſtile; the aſſaſſin himſelf was put to the torture, and the moſt excruciating torments were applied, with intention to extort a confeſſion of the reaſons that could induce him to ſo execrable an attempt upon his Sovereign. Inciſions were made into the muſcular parts of his legs, arms, and thighs, into which boiling oil was poured. Every refinement on cruelty, that human invention could ſuggeſt,

geſt, was practiſed without effect: nothing could overcome his obſtinacy; and his ſilence was conſtrued into a preſumption, that he muſt have had accomplices in the plot. To render his puniſhment more publick and conſpicuous, he was removed to Paris, there to undergo a repetition of all his former tortures, with ſuch additional circumſtances, as the moſt fertile and cruel diſpoſitions could deviſe for increaſing his miſery and torment. Being conducted to the Concergerie, an iron bed, which likewiſe ſerved for a chair, was prepared for him, and to this he was faſtened with chains. The torture was again applied, and a phyſician ordered to attend, to ſee what degree of pain he could ſupport. Nothing, however, material was extorted; for what he one moment confeſſed, he recanted the next. It is not within our province, (and we conſider it as a felicity,) to relate all the circumſtances of this cruel and tragical event. Sufficient it is, that, after ſuffering the moſt exquiſite torments that human nature could invent, or man ſupport, his judges thought proper to terminate his miſery by a death ſhocking to imagination, and ſhameful to humanity. On the twenty-eighth day of March he was conducted, amidſt a vaſt concourſe of the populace, to the Greve, the common place of execution, ſtripped naked, and faſtened to the ſcaffold by iron gyves. One of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming ſulphur: his thighs, legs, and arms were torn with red hot pincers, boiling oil, melted lead, reſin, and ſulphur, were poured into the wounds; tight ligatures tied round his limbs to prepare him for diſmemberment; young and vigorous horſes applied to the draft, and the unhappy criminal pulled, with all their force, to the utmoſt extenſion of his ſinews, for the ſpace of an hour; during all which time he preſerved his ſenſes and conſtancy. At length the phyſician and ſurgeon attending declared, it would be impoſſible to accompliſh the diſmemberment, unleſs the tendons

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tendons were ſeparated: upon which orders were given to the executioner to cut the ſinews at the joints of the arms and legs. The horſes drew afreſh: a thigh and an arm were ſeparated, and, after ſeveral pulls, the unfortunate wretch expired under the extremity of pain. His body and limbs were reduced to aſhes under the ſcaffold; his father, wife, daughter, and family baniſhed the kingdom for ever; the name of Damien effaced and obliterated, and the innocent involved in the puniſhment of the guilty. Thus ended the procedure againſt Damien and his family, in a manner not very favourable to the avowed clemency of Louis, or the acknowledged humanity of the French nation. It appeared from undoubted evidence, that the attempt on the King's life was the reſult of inſanity, and a diſturbed imagination. Several inſtances of a diſordered mind had before been obſerved in his conduct, and the deteſtation juſtly due to the enormity of his crime ought now to have been abſorbed in the conſideration of his misfortune, the greateſt that can befal human nature.

§ XXVI. Another remarkable event in France, in the beginning of this year, was the change in the miniſtry of that nation, by the removal of M. de Machault, keeper of the ſeals, from the poſt of Secretary of State for the marine; and of M. d'Argenſon from that of Secretary at War. Their diſmiſſion was ſudden and unexpected; nor was any particular reaſon aſſigned for this very unexpected alteration. The French King, to ſhew the Queen of Hungary how judiciouſly ſhe had acted in forming an alliance with the Houſe of Bourbon, raiſed two great armies; the firſt of which, compoſed of near eighty thouſand men, the flower of the French troops, with a large train of artillery, was commanded by M. d'Etrées, a General of great reputation; under whom ſerved M. de Contades, M. Chevert, and the Count de St. Germain, all officers

of high character. This formidable army paſſed the Rhine early in the ſpring, and marched by Weſtphalia, in order to invade the King of Pruſſia's dominions, in quality of allies to the Empreſs-Queen, and guardians of the liberties of the Empire. But their real view was to invade Hanover, a ſcheme which they knew would make a powerful diverſion of the Britiſh force from the proſecution of the war in other parts of the world, where the ſtrength of France could not be fully exerted, and where their moſt valuable intereſts were at ſtake. They flattered themſelves, moreover, that the ſame blow, by which they hoped to cruſh the King of Pruſſia, might likewiſe force his Britannick Majeſty into ſome conceſſions with regard to America. The other army of the French, commanded by the Prince de Soubiſe, was deſtined to ſtrengthen the Imperial army of execution, conſiſting of twenty-five thouſand men, beſides ſix thouſand Bavarians, and four thouſand Wirtembergers. But before theſe troops, under Soubiſe, paſſed the Rhine, they made themſelves maſters of ſeveral places belonging to the King of Pruſſia upon the borders of the Low-Countries *; whilſt a detachment from d'Etrées's army ſeized upon the town of Embden, and whatever elſe belonged to the ſame Monarch in Eaſt-Frieſland. CHAP. VII. 1757.

§ XXVII. At the cloſe of the laſt campaign, the King of Pruſſia, having gained a petty advantage over the Imperialiſts under the command of Mareſchal Brown, and incorporated into his own troops a great part of the Saxon army taken priſoners at Pirna, as was obſerved before, retired into winter-quarters, until the ſeaſon ſhould permit him to improve theſe advantages. His Majeſty and Mare-

* The King of Pruſſia had withdrawn his garriſon from Cleves, not without ſuſpicion of having purpoſely left this door open to the enemy, that their irruption into Germany might haſten the reſolutions of the Britiſh miniſtry.

ſchal

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ſchal Keith wintered in Saxony, having their cantonments between Pirna and the frontier along the Elbe; and Mareſchal Schwerin, returning into Sileſia, took up his quarters in the country of Glatz. In the mean time, the Empreſs-Queen, finding the force which ſhe had ſent out againſt the King of Pruſſia, was not ſufficient to prevent his deſigns, made the neceſſary requiſitions to her allies, for the auxiliaries they had engaged to furniſh. In conſequence of theſe requiſitions, the Czarina, true to her engagements, diſpatched above an hundred thouſand of her troops, who began their march in the month of November, and proceeded to the borders of Lithuania, with deſign particularly to invade Ducal Pruſſia, whilſt a ſtrong fleet was equipped in the Baltic, to aid the operations of this numerous army. The Auſtrian army, aſſembled in Bohemia amounted to upwards of fourſcore thouſand men, commanded by Prince Charles of Lorraine and Mareſchal Brown. The Swedes had not yet openly declared themſelves; but it was well known, that though their King was allied in blood and inclination to his Pruſſian Majeſty, yet the jealouſy which the Senate of Sweden entertained of their Sovereign, and the hope of recovering their ancient poſſeſſions in Pomerania, by means of the preſent troubles, together with their old attachment to France, newly cemented by intrigues and ſubſidies, would certainly induce them to join the general confederacy. The Duke of Mecklenbourg took the ſame party, and agreed to join the Swediſh army, when it ſhould be aſſembled, with ſix thouſand men. Beſides all theſe preparations againſt the King of Pruſſia, he was, in his quality of Elector of Brandenbourg, put under the ban of the Empire by the Aulic Council; declared deprived of all his rights, privileges, and prerogatives; his fiefs were eſcheated into the Exchequer of the empire; and all the circles accordingly ordered to

to furniſh their reſpective contingencies for putting this ſentence in execution.

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§ XXVIII. In this dangerous ſituation, thus menaced on all ſides, and ſeemingly on the very brink of inevitable deſtruction, the Pruſſian Monarch owed his preſervation to his own courage and activity. The Ruſſians, knowing that the country they were to paſs through in their way to Lithuania would not be able to ſubſiſt their prodigious numbers, had taken care to furniſh themſelves with proviſions for their march, depending upon the reſources they expected to find in Lithuania after their arrival in that country. Theſe proviſions were exhauſted by the time they reached the borders of that province, where they found themſelves ſuddenly and unexpectedly deſtitute of ſubſiſtence, either to return back or to proceed forward. The King of Pruſſia had, with great prudence and foreſight, ſecured plenty to himſelf, and diſtreſs and famine to his enemies, by buying up all the corn and forage of the country which theſe laſt were entering. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, his Pruſſian Majeſty, to guard as much as could be againſt every poſſible event, ſent a great number of gunners and matroſſes from Pomerania to Memel, with three regiments of his troops, to reinforce the garriſon of that place. He viſited all the poſts which his troops poſſeſſed in Sileſia, and gave the neceſſary orders for their ſecurity. He repaired to Neiſs, where he ſettled with Mareſchal Schwerin the general plan of the operations of the approaching campaign. There it was agreed, that the Mareſchal's army in Sileſia, which conſiſted of fifty thouſand men, ſhould have in conſtant view the motions of the royal army, by which its own were to be regulated, that they might both act in concert, as circumſtances ſhould require. At the ſame time, other armies were aſſembled by the King of Pruſſia in Luſatia and Voigtland; twenty thouſand men were collected at Zwickaw, on the frontiers of

BOOK III. 1757. Bohemia, towards Egra, under the command of Prince Maurice of Anhalt-Deſſau; and ſixty thouſand choſen troops began their march towards Great Zeidlitz, where their head-quarters were ſettled. In the mean while, the Auſtrian troops began to form on the frontiers of Saxony, where ſome of their detachments appeared, to watch the motions of the Pruſſians, who ſtill continued to purſue their operations with great activity and reſolution. All poſſible care was taken by the Pruſſians at Dreſden to ſecure a retreat, in caſe of a defeat. As only one regiment of Pruſſians could be ſpared to remain there in garriſon, the burghers were diſarmed, their arms depoſited in the arſenal, and a detachment was poſted at Konigſtein, to oblige that fortreſs to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. All correſpondence with the enemy was ſtrictly prohibited; and it having been diſcovered that the Counteſs of Ogilvie, one of the Queen's maids of honour, had diſobeyed his Majeſty's commands, ſhe was arreſted; but on the Queen's interceſſion, afterwards releaſed. The Counteſs of Bruhl, lady of the Saxon prime miniſter, was alſo arreſted by his Pruſſian Majeſty's order; and on her making light of her confinement, and reſolving to ſee company, ſhe was ordered to quit the court, and retire from Saxony. M. Henwin, the French miniſter, was told that his preſence was unneceſſary at Dreſden; and on his replying, that his maſter had commanded him to ſtay, he was again deſired to depart; on which he thought proper to obey. The Count de Wackerbath, miniſter of the cabinet, and grand maſter of the houſehold to the Prince Royal of Poland, was arreſted, and conducted to Cuſtrin, by the expreſs command of his Majeſty. The King of Pruſſia, having thrown two bridges over the Elbe early in the ſpring, ordered the ſeveral diſtricts of the electorate of Saxony to ſupply him with a great number of waggons, each drawn by four horſes. The circles of Miſnia and Leipſick were enjoined to furniſh

furniſh four hundred each, and the other circles in proportion. CHAP. VII.

§ XXIX. While the King of Pruſſia was taking theſe meaſures in Saxony, two ſkirmiſhes happened on the frontiers of Bohemia, between his troops and the Auſtrians. On the twentieth of February, a body of ſix thouſand Auſtrians ſurrounded the little town of Hirſchfeld, in Upper Luſatia, garriſoned by a battalion of Pruſſian foot. The firſt attack was made at four in the morning, on two redoubts without the gates, each of which was defended by two field pieces: and though the Auſtrians were ſeveral times repulſed, they at laſt made themſelves maſters of one of the redoubts, and carried off the two pieces of cannon. In their retreat they were purſued by the Pruſſians, who fell upon their rear, killed ſome, and took many priſoners: this affair coſt the Auſtrians at leaſt five hundred men. About a fortnight after, the Prince of Bevern marched out of Zittau, with a body of near nine thouſand men, in order to deſtroy the remaining ſtrong holds poſſeſſed by the Auſtrians on the frontiers. In this expedition he took the Auſtrian magazine at Friedland in Bohemia, conſiſting of nine thouſand ſacks of meal, and great ſtore of ammunition; and, after making himſelf maſter of Reichenberg, he returned to Zittau. The van of his troops, conſiſting of a hundred and fifty huſſars of the regiment of Putkammer, met with a body of ſix hundred Croats, ſuſtained by two hundred Auſtrian dragoons of Bathiania, at their entering Bohemia; and immediately fell upon them ſword in hand, killed about fifty, took thirty horſes, and made ten dragoons priſoners. The Pruſſians, it is ſaid, did not loſe a ſingle man on this occaſion; and two ſoldiers only were ſlightly wounded, the Auſtrians having made but a ſlight reſiſtance. 1757.

§ XXX. Whatever the conduct of the Court of Vienna might have been to the allies of Great-Bri-

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tain, ſtill, however, proper regard was ſhewn to the ſubjects of this crown: for an edict was publiſhed at Florence on the thirteenth of February, wherein his Imperial Majeſty, as Grand Duke of Tuſcany, declared his intention of obſerving the moſt ſcrupulous neutrality in the then ſituation of affairs. All the ports in that duchy were accordingly enjoined to pay a ſtrict regard to this declaration, in all caſes relating to the French or Engliſh ſhips in the Mediterranean. The good effects of this injunction ſoon appeared; for two prizes taken by the Engliſh having put into Porto Ferraro, the Captains of two French privateers addreſſed themſelves to the Governor, alledging, that they were captures of a pirate, and requeſting that they might be obliged to put to ſea: but the Governor prudently replied, That as they came in under Engliſh colours he would protect them; and forbad the privateers, at their peril, to commit any violence. They, however, little regarding the Governor's orders, prepared for ſailing, and ſent their boats to cut out one of the prizes. The Captain, firing at their boats, killed one of their men, which alarming the ſentinels, notice was ſent to the Governor; and he, in conſequence, ordered the two privateers immediately to depart.—The conduct of the Dutch was rather cautious than ſpirited. Whilſt his Pruſſian Majeſty was employed on the ſide of Bohemia and Saxony, the French auxiliaries began their march to haraſs his defenceleſs territories in the neighbourhood of the Low Countries. A free paſſage was demanded of the States-General through Namur and Maeſtricht, for the proviſions, ammunition, and artillery belonging to this new army; and though the Engliſh Ambaſſador remonſtrated againſt their compliance, and repreſented it as a breach of the neutrality, their High Mightineſſes declared they would obſerve, yet, after ſome heſitation, the demand was granted; and their inability to prevent the paſſage of the French troops, ſhould

it be attempted by force, pleaded in excuſe of their conduct. CHAP. VII. 1757.

§ XXXI. Scarce had the French army, commanded by the Prince de Soubiſe, ſet foot in the territories of Juliers and Cologn, when they found themſelves in poſſeſſion of the duchy of Cleves and the county of Marck, where all things were left open to them, the Pruſſians, who evacuated their poſts, taking their route along the river Lippe, in order to join ſome regiments from Magdebourg, who were ſent to facilitate their retreat. The diſtreſſed inhabitants, thus expoſed to the calamities of war from an unprovoked enemy, were inſtantly ordered to furniſh contributions, forage, and proviſions for the uſe of their invaders; and what was ſtill more terrifying to them, the partizan Fiſcher, whoſe cruelties, the laſt war, they ſtill remembered with horror, was again let looſe upon them by the inhumanity of the Empreſs-Queen. Weſel was immediately occupied by the French: Emmerick and Maſeyk ſoon ſhared the ſame fate; and the city of Gueldres was beſieged, the Pruſſians ſeeming reſolved to defend this laſt place: to which end they opened the ſluices, and laid the country under water. Thoſe who retreated, filing off to the northweſt of Paderborn, entered the county of Ritberg, the property of Count Caunitz Ritberg, great Chancellor to the Empreſs-Queen. After taking his caſtle, in which they found thirty pieces of cannon, they raiſed contributions in the diſtrict, to the amount of forty thouſand crowns. As the Pruſſians retired, the French took poſſeſſion of the country they quitted in the name of the Empreſs-Queen, whoſe commiſſary attended them for that purpoſe. The general rendezvous of theſe troops, under Prince Soubiſe, was appointed at Neuſs, in the electorate of Cologn, where a large body of French was aſſembled by the firſt of April. The Auſtrians, in their turn, were not idle. Marſhal Brown viſited the fortifications of

BOOK III. 1757. Brinn and Koninſgratz; reviewed the army of the late Prince Picolomini, now under the command of General Serbelloni; and put his own army in march for Koſtlitz on the Elbe, where he propoſed to eſtabliſh his head-quarters.

§ XXXII. During the receſs of the armies, while the rigours of winter forced them to ſuſpend their hoſtile operations, and the greateſt preparations were making to open the campaign with all poſſible vigour, Count Beſtucheff, great Chancellor of Ruſſia, wrote a circular letter to the Primate, Senators, and Miniſters of the Republick of Poland, ſetting forth, "That the Empreſs of Ruſſia was extremely affected with the King of Poland's diſtreſs, which ſhe thought could not but exite the compaſſion of all other powers, but more eſpecially of his allies: that the fatal conſequences which might reſult from the raſh ſtep taken by the King of Pruſſia, not only with reſpect to the tranquillity of Europe in general, but of each power in particular, and more eſpecially of the neighbouring countries, were ſo evident, that the intereſt and ſafety of the ſeveral princes rendered it abſolutely neceſſary they ſhould make it a common cauſe: not only to obtain proper ſatisfaction for thoſe courts whoſe dominions had been ſo unjuſtly attacked, but likewiſe to preſcribe ſuch bounds to the King of Pruſſia as might ſecure them from any future apprehenſions from ſo enterprizing and reſtleſs a neighbour: that with this view, the Empreſs was determined to aſſiſt the King of Poland with a conſiderable body of troops, which were actually upon their march *, under the command of General Apraxin; and that, as there would be an abſolute neceſſity for their marching through part of the territories of Poland, her Imperial Majeſty hoped the Republick would not fail to facilitate their march as much as poſſible." She further recommended to the Repub-

* This letter was written in December; and the Ruſſians, as we obſerved before, began their march in November.

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lick, to take ſome ſalutary meaſures for fruſtrating the deſigns of the King of Pruſſia, and reſtoring harmony among themſelves, as the moſt conducive meaſure to theſe good purpoſes. In this, however, the Poles were ſo far from following her advice, that, though ſure of being ſacrificed in this conteſt, which ſide ſoever prevailed, they divided into parties with no leſs zeal, than if they had as much to hope from the prevalence of one ſide, as to fear from that of the other. Some of the Palatines were for denying a paſſage to the Ruſſians, and others were for affording them the utmoſt aſſiſtance in their power. With this cauſe of contention, others of a more private nature fatally concurred, by means of a miſunderſtanding between the Prince Czartorinſki and Count Mniſnec. Almoſt every inhabitant of Warſaw was involved in the quarrel; and the violence of theſe factions was ſo great, that ſcarce a night paſſed without bloodſhed, many dead bodies, chiefly Saxons, being found in the ſtreets every morning. CHAP. VII. 1757.

§ XXXIII. In the mean time, Great-Britain, unſettled in her miniſtry and councils at home, unſucceſsful in her attempts abroad, judging peace, if it could be obtained on juſt and honourable terms, more elegible than a continental war, propoſed ſeveral expedients to the Empreſs-Queen for reſtoring the tranquillity of Germany; but her anſwer was, "That, whenever ſhe perceived that the expedients propoſed would indemnify her for the extraordinary expences ſhe had incurred in her own defence, repair the heavy loſſes ſuſtained by her ally the King of Poland, and afford a proper ſecurity for their future ſafety, ſhe would be ready to give the ſame proofs ſhe had always given of her deſire to reſtore peace; but it could not be expected ſhe ſhould liſten to expedients, of which the King of Pruſſia was to reap the whole advantage, after having begun the war, and waſted the dominions of a prince, who relied for his ſecurity upon the faith of treaties, and

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the appearance of harmony between them." Upon the receipt of this answer, the Court of London made several proposals to the Czarina, to interpose as mediatrix between the Courts of Vienna and Berlin, but they were rejected with marks of displeasure and resentment. When Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the British Ambassador, continued to urge his solicitations very strongly, and even with some hints of menaces, an answer was delivered to him by order of the Empress, purporting, "That her Imperial Majesty was astonished at his demand, after he had already been made acquainted with the measures she had taken to effect a reconciliation between the Courts of Vienna and Berlin. He might easily conceive, as matters were then situated, that the earnestness with which he now urged the same proposition must necessarily surprise her Imperial Majesty, as it showed but little regard to her former declaration. The Empress, therefore, commanded his excellency to be told, that as her intentions contained in her first answer remained absolutely invariable, no ulterior propositions for a mediation would be listened to; and that as for the menaces made use of by his Excellency, and particularly that the King of Prussia himself would soon attack the Russian army, such threats served only to weaken the Ambassador's proposals; to confirm still more, were it possible, the Empress in her resolutions; to justify them to the whole world, and to render the King of Prussia more blameable."

§ XXXIV. The season now drawing on in which the troops of the contending powers would be able to take the field, and the alarming progress of the Russians being happily stopped, his Prussian Majesty, whose maxim it has always been to keep the seat of war as far as possible from his own dominions, resolved to carry it into Bohemia, and there to attack the Austrians on all sides. To this end he ordered his armies in Saxony, Misnia, Lusatia, and Silesia,

Sileſia, to enter Bohemia in four different and oppoſite places, nearly at the ſame time. The firſt of theſe he commanded in perſon, aſſiſted by Mareſchal Keith; the ſecond was led by Prince Maurice of Anhalt-Deſſau, the third by Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick-Bevern, and the fourth by Mareſchal Schwerin. In conſequence of this plan, Mareſchal Schwerin's army entered Bohemia on the eighteenth of April, in five columns, at as many different places. The deſign was ſo well concerted, that the Auſtrians had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of their approach till they were paſt the frontiers, and then they filled the dangerous defile of Gulder-Oelſe with Pandours, to diſpute that paſſage; but they were no ſooner diſcovered than two battalions of Pruſſian grenadiers attacked them with their bayonets fixed, and routed them. The Prince of Anhalt paſſed the frontiers, from Miſnia, and penetrated into Bohemia on the twenty-firſt of April without any reſiſtance. The Prince of Bevern, on the twentieth of the ſame month, having marched at the head of a body of the army, which was in Luſatia, from the quarters of cantonment near Zittau, poſſeſſed himſelf immediately of the firſt poſt on the frontier of Bohemia, at Krouttau and Graſenſtein, without the loſs of a ſingle man: drove away the enemy the ſame day from Kratzen, and proceeded to Machendorf, near Reichenberg. The ſame morning Putkammer's huſſars, who formed part of a corps, commanded by a Colonel and Major, routed ſome hundreds of the enemy's cuiraſſiers, poſted before Cohlin, under the conduct of Prince Lichtenſtein, took three officers and upwards of ſixty horſe priſoners, and ſo diſperſed the reſt, that they were ſcarcely able to rally near Kratzen. Night coming on obliged the troops to remain in the open air till the next morning, when, at break of day, the Pruſſians marched in two columns by Habendorf, towards the enemy's army, amounting to twenty-eight thouſand men, commanded

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manded by Count Konigſeg, and poſted near Reichenberg. As ſoon as the troops were formed, they advanced towards the enemy's cavalry, drawn up in three lines of about thirty ſquadrons. The two wings were ſuſtained by the infantry, which was poſted among felled trees and entrenchments. The Pruſſians immediately cannonaded the enemy's cavalry, who received it with reſolution, having on their right hand a village, and on their left a wood, where they had entrenched themſelves. But the Prince of Bevern having cauſed fifteen ſquadrons of dragoons of the ſecond line to advance, and the wood on his right to be attacked at the ſame time by the battalions of grenadiers of Kahlden and of Moellendorf, and by the regiment of the Prince of Pruſſia, his dragoons, who, by clearing the ground, and poſſeſſing the entrenchment, had their flanks covered, entirely routed the enemy's cavalry. In the mean time Colonel Putkammer and Major Schenfield, with their huſſars, though flanked by the enemy's artillery, gave the Auſtrian horſe-grenadiers a very warm reception, whilſt General Leſtewitz, with the left wing of the Pruſſians, attacked the redoubts that covered Reichenberg. Though there were many defiles and riſing grounds to paſs, all occupied by the Auſtrians, yet the regiment of Darmſtadt forced the redoubt, and put to flight and purſued the enemy, after ſome diſcharge of their artillery and ſmall arms, from one eminence to another, for the diſtance of a mile, when they left off the purſuit. The action began at half an hour after ſix, and continued till eleven. About one thouſand of the Auſtrians were killed and wounded, among the former were General Porporati and Count Hohenfelds, and among the latter Prince Lichtenſtein and Count Mansfeld. Twenty of their officers, and four hundred ſoldiers, were taken priſoners, and they alſo loſt three ſtandards. On the ſide of the Pruſſians ſeven ſubalterns, and about an hundred men, were killed, and ſixteen officers and

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an hundred and fifty men wounded. After this battle Mareſchal Schwerin joined the Prince of Bevern, made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of the circle of Buntzlau, and took a conſiderable magazine from the Auſtrians, whom he diſlodged. The Prince Anhalt-Deſſau, with his corps, drew near the King of Pruſſia's army; then the latter advanced as far as Budin, from whence the Auſtrians, who had an advantageous camp there, retired to Weſtwarn, half-way between Budin and Prague; and his Pruſſian Majeſty having paſſed the Egra, his army, and that of Mareſchal Schwerin, were ſo ſituated, as to be able to act jointly. CHAP. VII. 1757.

§ XXXV. Theſe advantages were but a prelude to a much more deciſive victory, which the King himſelf gained a few days after. Preparing to enter Bohemia, at a diſtance from any of the corps commanded by his Generals, he made a movement as if he had intended to march towards Egra. The enemy, deceived by this feint, and imagining he was going to execute ſome deſign, diſtinct from the object of other armies, detached a body of twenty thouſand men to obſerve his motions; then he made a ſudden and maſterly movement to the left, by which he cut off all communication between that detachment and the main army of the Auſtrians, which, having been reinforced by the army of Moravia, by the remains of the corps lately defeated by the Duke of Bevern, and by ſeveral regiments of the garriſon of Prague, amounted to near a hundred thouſand men. They were ſtrongly entrenched on the banks of the Moldaw, to the north of Prague, in a camp ſo fortified by every advantage of nature, and every contrivance of art, as to be deemed almoſt impregnable. The left wing of the Auſtrians, thus ſituated, was guarded by the mountains of Ziſcka, and the right extended as far as Herboholi: Prince Charles of Lorraine, and Mareſchal Brown, who commanded them, ſeemed determined to maintain

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this advantageous poſt; but the King of Pruſſia overlooked all difficulties. Having thrown ſeveral bridges over the Moldaw on the fifth of May, he paſſed that river in the morning of the ſixth, with thirty thouſand men, leaving the reſt of the army under the command of the Prince of Anhalt-Deſſau; and being immediately joined by the troops under Mareſchal Schwerin and the Prince of Bevern, reſolved to attack the enemy on the ſame day. In conſequence of this reſolution, his army filed off on the left by Potſchernitz; and at the ſame time Count Brown wheeled to the right, to avoid being flanked. The Pruſſians continued their march to Bichwitz, traverſing ſeveral defiles and moraſſes, which for a little time ſeparated the infantry from the reſt of the army. The foot began the attack too precipitately, and were at firſt repulſed, but they ſoon recovered themſelves. While the King of Pruſſia took the enemy in flank, Mareſchal Schwerin advanced to a marſhy ground, which ſuddenly ſtopping his army, threatened to diſconcert the whole plan of operation. In this emergency, he immediately diſmounted, and taking the ſtandard of the regiment in his hand, boldly entered the moraſs, crying out, "Let all "brave Pruſſians follow me." Inſpired by the example of this great Commander, now eighty-two years of age, all the troops preſſed forward, and though he was unfortunately killed by the firſt fire, their ardour abated not till they had totally defeated the enemy. Thus fell Mareſchal Schwerin, loaded with years and glory, an officer whoſe ſuperior talents in the military art had been diſplayed in a long courſe of faithful ſervice. In the mean time, the Pruſſian infantry, which had been ſeparated in the march, forming themſelves afreſh, renewed the attack on the enemy's right, and entirely broke it, while thei cavalry, after three charges, obliged that of the Auſtrians to retire in great confuſion, the centre being at the ſame time totally routed. The left wing

wing of the Pruſſians then marched immediately towards Michely, and being there joined by the horſe, renewed their attack, while the enemy were retreating haſtily towards Saſzawar. Meanwhile the troops on the right of the Pruſſian army attacked the remains of the left wing of the Auſtrians, and made themſelves maſters of three batteries. But the behaviour of the infantry in the laſt attack was ſo ſucceſsful, as to leave little room for this part of the cavalry to act. Prince Henry of Pruſſia, and the Prince of Bevern, ſignalized themſelves on this occaſion in ſtorming two batteries; Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick took the left wing of the Auſtrians in flank, while the King with his left, and a body of cavalry, ſecured the paſſage of the Moldaw. In ſhort, after a very long and obſtinate engagement, and many ſignal examples of valour on both ſides, the Auſtrians were forced to abandon the field of battle, leaving behind ſixty pieces of cannon, all their tents, baggage, military cheſt, and, in a word, their whole camp. The weight of the battle fell upon the right wing of the Auſtrains, the remains of which, to the amount of ten or twelve thouſand men, fled towards Beneſchau, where they afterwards aſſembled under M. Pretlach, General of horſe. The infantry retired towards Prague, and threw themſelves into that city with their Commanders, Prince Charles of Lorraine, and Mareſchal Brown; but they were much haraſſed in their retreat by a detachment of the Pruſſians under Mareſchal Keith. The Pruſſians took, on this occaſion, ten ſtandards, and upwards of four thouſand priſoners, thirty of whom were officers of rank. Their loſs amounted to about two thouſand five hundred killed, and about three thouſand wounded. Among the former were General d'Amſtel, the Prince of Holſtein-Beck, the Colonels Goltze and Manſtein, and Lieutenant-Colonel Roke. Among the latter, the Generals Wenterfield De la Mothe, Feuque, Hautcharmoy, Blakenſee and

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and Plettenberg. The number of the killed and wounded on the ſide of the Auſtrians was much greater. Among theſe laſt was Mareſchal Brown, who received a wound, which, from the chagrin he ſuffered, rather than from its own nature, proved mortal. The day after the battle, Colonel Meyer was detached with a battalion of Pruſſian Pandours, and four hundred huſſars, to deſtroy a very conſiderable and valuable magazine of the Auſtrians at Pilſen, and this ſervice he performed. He alſo completed the deſtruction of ſeveral others of leſs importance; by the loſs of which, however, all poſſibility of ſubſiſtence was cut off from any ſuccours the Auſtrians might have expected from the Empire.

§ XXXVI. The Pruſſians, following their blow, immediately inveſted Prague on both ſides of the river, the King commanding on one ſide, and Mareſchal Keith on the other. In four days the whole city was ſurrounded with lines and entrenchments, by which all communication from without was entirely cut off: Prince Charles of Lorraine and Mareſchal Brown, the two Princes of Saxony, the Prince of Modena, the Duke d'Aremberg, Count Lacy, and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction, were ſhut up within the walls, together with above twenty thouſand of the Auſtrian army, who had taken refuge in Prague after their defeat. Every thing continued quiet on both ſides, ſcarce a cannon-ſhot being fired by either for ſome time after this blockade was formed; and in the mean time, after this blockade, made themſelves maſters of Cziſcaberg, an eminence which commands the town, where the Auſtrians had a ſtrong redoubt, continuing likewiſe to ſtrengthen their works. Already they had made a ſally, and taken ſome other ineffectual ſteps to recover this poſt; but a more deciſive ſtroke was neceſſary. Accordingly, a deſign was formed of attacking the Pruſſian army in the night with a body of twelve thouſand

thouſand men, to be ſuſtained by all the grenadiers, volunteers, Pandours, and Hungarian infantry. In caſe an impreſſion could be made on the King's lines, it was intended to open a way, ſword in hand, through the camp of the beſiegers, and to eaſe Prague of the multitude of forces locked up uſeleſs within the walls, ſerving only to conſume the proviſions of the garriſon, and haſten the ſurrender of the place. Happily a deſerter gave the Prince of Pruſſia intelligence of the enemy's deſign about eleven o'clock at night. Proper meaſures were immediately taken for their reception, and, in leſs than a quarter of an hour, the whole army was under arms. This deſign was conducted with ſo much ſilence, that though the Pruſſians were warned of it, they could diſcover nothing before the enemy had charged their advanced poſts. Their attack was begun on the ſide of the little town, againſt Mareſchal Keith's camp, and the left wing of the Pruſſian army encamped on the Moldaw. From hence it is probable the Auſtrians propoſed not only to deſtroy the batteries that were raiſing, but to attack the bridges of communication which the Pruſſians threw over the Moldaw, at about a quarter of a German mile above and below Prague, at Branig and Podbaba. The greateſt alarm began about two o'clock, when the enemy hoped to have come ſilently and unexpectedly upon the miners, but they had left work about a quarter of an hour before. At the report of the firſt piece which they fired, the piquet of the third battalion of Pruſſian guards, to the number of an hundred men, who marched out of the camp to ſuſtain the body which covered the works, was thrown into ſome confuſion, from the darkneſs of the night, which prevented their diſtinguiſhing the Auſtrian troops from their own. Lieutenant Jork, detached with two platoons to reconnoitre the enemy, attempting to diſcover their diſpoſition by kindling a fire, Captain Rodig, by the light of this fire, perceived

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Prince

Prince Ferdinand, the King of Pruſſia's youngeſt brother, had a horſe killed under him, and was ſlightly wounded in the face. CHAP. VII. 1757.

§ XXXVII. The Pruſſian works being completed, and heavy artillery arrived, four batteries erected on the banks of the Moldaw, began to play with great fury. Near three hundred bombs, beſides an infinity of ignited balls, were thrown into the city in the ſpace of twenty-four hours. The ſcene was lamentable, houſes, men, and horſes wrapped in flames and reduced to aſhes. The confuſion within, together with the want of proper artillery and ammunition, obliged the Auſtrians to ceaſe firing, and furniſhed his Pruſſian Majeſty with all the opportunity he could wiſh of pouring deſtruction upon this unfortunate city. The horrors of war ſeemed to have extinguiſhed the principles of humanity. No regard was paid to the diſtreſs of the inhabitants; the Auſtrians obſtinately maintained poſſeſſion, and the Pruſſians practiſed every ſtratagem, every barbarous refinement, that conſtitutes the military art, to oblige them to capitulate. After the conflagration had laſted three days, and conſumed a prodigious number of buildings, the principal inhabitants, burghers, and clergy, perceiving their city on the point of being reduced to a heap of rubbiſh, beſought the Commander, in a body, to hearken to terms; but he was deaf to the voice of pity, and, inſtead of being moved with their ſupplications, drove out twelve thouſand perſons, the leaſt uſeful in defending the city. Theſe, by order of his Pruſſian Majeſty, were again forced back, which ſoon produced ſo great a ſcarcity of proviſion within the walls, that the Auſtrians were reduced to the neceſſity of eating horſe-fleſh, forty horſes being daily diſtributed to the troops, and the ſame food ſold at four-pence a pound to the inhabitants. However, as there ſtill remained great abundance of corn. they were far from being

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brought to the laſt extremity. Two vigorous and well-conducted ſallies were made, but they proved unſucceſsful. The only advantage reſulting from them, was the perpetual alarm in which they kept the Pruſſian camp, and the vigilance required to guard againſt the attacks of a numerous, reſolute, and deſperate garriſon.

§ XXXVIII. Whatever difficulties might have attended the conqueſt of Prague, certain it is, that the affairs of the Empreſs-Queen were in the moſt critical and deſperate ſituation. Her grand army diſperſed in parties, and flying for ſubſiſtence in ſmall corps; their Princes and Commanders cooped up in Prague; that capital in imminent danger of being taken, the flouriſhing kingdom of Bohemia ready to fall into the hands of the conqueror; a conſiderable army on the point of ſurrendering priſoners of war; all the Queen's hereditary dominions open and expoſed, the whole fertile tract of country from Egra to the Moldaw in actual poſſeſſion of the Pruſſians, the diſtance to the Archduchy of Auſtria not very conſiderable, and ſecured only by the Danube; Vienna under the utmoſt apprehenſions of a ſiege, and the Imperial family ready to take refuge in Hungary; the Pruſſian forces deemed invincible, and the ſanguine friends of that Monarch already ſharing with him, in imagination, the ſpoils of the ancient and illuſtrious Houſe of Auſtria. Such was the aſpect of affairs, and ſuch the difficulties to be combated, when Leopold, Count Daun, was appointed to the command of the Auſtrian forces, to ſtem the torrent of diſgrace, and turn the fortune of the war. This General, tutored by long experience under the beſt officers of Europe, and the particular favourite of the great Kevenhuller, was now, for the firſt time, raiſed to act in chief, at the head of an army, on which depended the fate of Auſtria and the empire. Born of a noble family, he relied ſolely upon his own merit, without ſoliciting court-

favour; he aſpired after the hgheſt preferment, and ſucceeded by mere dint of ſuperior worth. His progreſs from the ſtation of a ſubaltern was ſlow and ſilent; his promotion to the chief command was received with univerſal eſteem and applauſe. Cautious, ſteady, penetrating, and ſagacious, he was oppoſed as another Fabius to the modern Hannibal, to check the fire and vigour of that Monarch by prudent foreſight and wary circumſpection. Arriving at Bœmiſchbrod, within a few miles of Prague, the day after the late defeat, he halted to collect the fugitive corps and broken remains of the Auſtrian army, and ſoon drew together a force ſo conſiderable as to attract the notice of his Pruſſian Majeſty, who detached the Prince of Bevern, with twenty battalions, and thirty ſquadrons, to attack him before numbers ſhould render him formidable. Daun was too prudent to give battle, with diſpirited troops, to an army fluſhed with victory. He retired on the firſt advice that the Pruſſians were advancing, and took poſt at Kolin, where he entrenched himſelf ſtrongly, opened the way for the daily ſupply of recruits ſent to his army, and inſpired the garriſon of Prague with freſh courage, in expectation of being ſoon relieved. Here he kept cloſe within his camp, divided the Pruſſian force, by obliging the King to employ near half his army in watching his deſigns, weakened his efforts againſt Prague, haraſſed the enemy by cutting off their convoys, and reſtored by degrees, the languiſhing and almoſt deſponding ſpirits of his troops. Perfectly acquainted with the ardour and diſcipline of the Pruſſian forces, with the enterpriſing and impetuous diſpoſition of that Monarch, and ſenſible that his ſituation would prove irkſome and embarraſſing to the enemy, he improved it to the beſt advantage, ſeemed to foreſee all the conſequences, and directed every meaſure to produce them. Thus he retarded the enemy's operations, and aſſiduouſly avoided precipitating an

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action until the Pruſſian vigour ſhould be exhauſted, their ſtrength impaired by loſſes and deſertion, the firſt fire and ardour of their genius extinguiſhed by continual fatigue and inceſſant alarms, and until the impreſſion made on his own men, by the late defeat, ſhould, in ſome degree, be effaced. The event juſtified Daun's conduct. His army grew every day more numerous, while his Pruſſian Majeſty began to expreſs the utmoſt impatience at the length of the ſiege. When that Monarch firſt inveſted Prague, it was on the preſumption that the numerous forces within the walls would, by conſuming all the proviſion, oblige it to ſurrender in a few days; but perceiving that the Auſtrians had ſtill a conſiderable quantity of corn, that Count Daun's army was daily increaſing, and would ſoon be powerful enough not only to cope with the detachment under the Prince of Bevern, but in a condition to raiſe the ſiege, he determined to give the Count battle with one part of his army, while he kept Prague blocked up with the other. The Auſtrians, amounting now to ſixty thouſand men, were deeply entrenched, and defended by a numerous train of artillery, placed on redoubts and batteries erected on the moſt advantageous poſts. Every acceſſible part of the camp was fortified with lines and heavy pieces of battering cannon, and the foot of the hills ſecured by difficult defiles. Yet, ſtrong as this ſituation might appear, formidable as the Auſtrian forces certainly were, his Pruſſian Majeſty undertook to diſlodge them with a body of horſe and foot not exceeding thirty-two thouſand men.

§ XXXIX. On the thirteenth day of June, the King of Pruſſia quitted the camp before Prague, eſcorted by a few battalions and ſquadrons, with which he joined the Prince of Bevern at Milkowitz. Mareſchal Keith, it is ſaid, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this meaſure, and adviſed either raiſing the ſiege entirely,

entirely, and attacking the Auſtrians with the united forces of Pruſſia, or poſtponing the attack on the camp at Kolin, until his Majeſty ſhould either gain poſſeſſion of the city, or ſome attempts ſhould be made to oblige him to quit his poſts. From either meaſure an advantage would have reſulted. With his whole army he might probably have defeated Count Daun, or at leaſt have obliged him to retreat. Had he continued within his lines at Prague, the Auſtrian General could not have conſtrained him to raiſe the ſiege without loſing his own advantageous ſituation, and giving battle upon terms nearly equal. But the King, elated with ſucceſs, impetuous in his valour, and confident of the ſuperiority of his own troops in point of diſcipline, thought all reſiſtance muſt ſink under the weight of his victorious arm, and yield to that courage which had already ſurmounted ſuch difficulties, diſregarded the Mareſchal's ſage counſel, and marched up to the attack undaunted, and even aſſured of ſucceſs. By the eighteenth the two armies were in ſight, and his Majeſty found that Count Daun had not only fortified his camp with all the heavy cannon of Olmutz, but was ſtrongly reinforced with troops from Moravia and Auſtria, which had joined him after the King's departure from Prague. He found the Auſtrians drawn up in three lines upon the high grounds between Genlitz, and St John the Baptiſt. Difficult as it was to approach their ſituation, the Pruſſian infantry marched up with firmneſs, while ſhot was poured like hail from the enemy's batteries, and began the attack about three in the afternoon. They drove the Auſtrians with irreſiſtible intrepidity from two eminences ſecured with heavy cannon, and two villages defended by ſeveral battalions; but, in attacking the third eminence, were flanked by the Auſtrian cavalry, by grape-ſhot poured from the batteries; and, after a violent conflict, and prodigious loſs of men, thrown into diſ-

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order. Animated with the King's preſence, they rallied, and returned with double ardour to the charge, but were a ſecond time repulſed. Seven times ſucceſſively did Prince Ferdinand renew the attack, performing every duty of a great general and valiant ſoldier, though always with the ſame fortune. The inferiority of the Pruſſian infantry, the diſadvantages of ground, where the cavalry could not act, the advantageous ſituation of the enemy, their numerous artillery, their entrenchments, numbers, and obſtinacy, joined to the ſkill and conduct of their General, all conſpired to defeat the hopes of the Pruſſians, to ſurmount their valour, and oblige them to retreat. The King then made a laſt and furious effort, at the head of the cavalry, on the enemy's left wing, but with as little ſucceſs as all the former attacks. Every effort was made, and every attempt was productive only of greater loſſes and misfortunes. At laſt, after expoſing his perſon in the moſt perilous ſituations, his Pruſſian Majeſty drew off his forces from the field of battle, retiring in ſuch good order, in ſight of the enemy, as prevented a purſuit, or the loſs of his artillery and baggage. Almoſt all the officers on either ſide diſtinguiſhed themſelves; and Count Daun, whoſe conduct emulated that of his Pruſſian Majeſty, received two ſlight wounds, and had a horſe killed under him. The loſſes of both armies were very conſiderable; on that of the Pruſſians, the killed and wounded amounted to eight thouſand; leſs pernicious, however, to his Majeſty's cauſe than the frequent deſertion, and other innumerable ill conſequences that enſued.

§ XL. When the Pruſſian army arrived at Nimburgh, his Majeſty, leaving the command with the Prince of Bevern, took horſe, and, eſcorted by twelve or fourteen huſſars, ſet out for Prague, where he arrived next morning without halting, after

after having been the whole preceding day on horſe-back. Immediately he gave orders for ſending off all his artillery, ammunition, and baggage; theſe were executed with ſo much expedition, that the tents were ſtruck, and the army on their march, before the garriſon were informed of the King's defeat. Thus terminated the battle of Kolin and ſiege of Prague, in which the acknowledged errors of his Pruſſian Majeſty were, in ſome meaſure, atoned by the candour with which he owned his miſtake, both in a letter to the Earl Mareſchal*, and in converſation with ſeveral of his general officers. Moſt people, indeed, imagined the King highly blameable for checking the ardour of his troops to ſtop and lay ſiege to Prague. They thought he ſhould have purſued his conqueſts, over-run Auſtria, Moravia, and all the hereditary dominions, from which alone the Empreſs-Queen could draw ſpeedy ſuccours. A body of twenty or thirty thouſand men would have blocked up Prague, while the remainder of the Pruſſian forces might have obliged the Imperial family to retire from Vienna, and effec-

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* "The Imperial grenadiers, (ſays he,) are an admirable corps; one hundred companies defended a riſing ground, which my beſt infantry could not carry. Ferdinand, who commanded them, returned ſeven times to the charge; but to no purpoſe. At firſt he maſtered a battery, but could not hold it. The enemy had the advantage of a numerous and well-ſerved artillery. It did honour to Lichtenſtein, who had the direction. Only the Pruſſian army can diſpute it with him. My infantry were too few. All my cavalry were preſent, and idle ſpectators, excepting a bold puſh by my houſehold troops, and ſome dragoons. Ferdinand attacked without powder; the enemy, in return, were not ſparing of their's. They had the advantage of a riſing ground, of entrenchments, and of a prodigious artillery. Several of my regiments were repulſed by their muſquetry. Henry performed wonders. I tremble for my worthy brothers; they are too brave. Fortune turned her back on me this day. I ought to have expected it; ſhe is a female, and I am no gallant. In fact, I ought to have had more infantry. Succeſs, my dear Lord, often occaſions deſtructive confidence. Twenty-four battalions were not ſufficient to diſlodge ſixty thouſand men from an advantageous poſt. Another time we will do better.——What ſay you of this league, which has only the Marquis of Brandenburgh for its object? The great Elector would be ſurpriſed to ſee his grandſon at war with the Ruſſians, the Auſtrians, almoſt all Germany, and an hundred thouſand French auxiliaries. I know not whether it would be diſgrace in me to ſubmit, but I am ſure there will be no glory in vanquiſhing me."

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tually prevented Count Daun from aſſembling another army. It was univerſally expected he would have bent his march ſtraight to this capital; but he dreaded leaving the numerous army in Prague behind, and it was of great importance to complete the conqueſt of Bohemia. The Prince of Pruſſia marched all night with his corps to Nimburgh, where he joined the Prince of Bevern, and Mareſchal Keith retreated next day. Count Brown having died before, of the wounds he received on the ſixth of May, Prince Charles of Lorraine ſallied out with a large body of Auſtrians, and attacked the rear of the Pruſſians; but did no further miſchief than killing about two hundred of their men. The ſiege of Prague being thus raiſed, the impriſoned Auſtrians received their deliverer, Count Daun, with inexpreſſible joy, and their united forces became greatly ſuperior to thoſe of the King of Pruſſia, who was in a ſhort time obliged to evacuate Bohemia, and take refuge in Saxony. The Auſtrians haraſſed him as much as poſſible in his retreat; but their armies, though ſuperior in numbers, were not in a condition, from their late ſufferings, to make any deciſive attempt upon him, as the frontiers of Saxony abound with ſituations eaſily defended.

§ XLI. Having thus deſcribed the progreſs of the Pruſſians in Bohemia, we muſt caſt our eyes on the tranſactions which diſtinguiſhed the campaign in Weſtphalia. To guard againſt the ſtorm which menaced Hanover in particular, orders were tranſmitted thither to recruit the troops that had been ſent back from England, to augment each company, to remount the cavalry with the utmoſt expedition; not to ſuffer any horſes to be conveyed out of the electorate; to furniſh the magazines in that country with all things neceſſary for fifty thouſand men. Of theſe, twenty-ſix thouſand were to be Hanoverians, and, in conſequence of engagements entered into for that purpoſe, twelve thouſand Heſſians,

ſians, ſix thouſand Brunſwickers, two thouſand Saxe-Gothans, and a thouſand Lunenburghers, to be joined by a conſiderable body of Pruſſians, the whole commanded by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland. The King of England having publiſhed a manifeſto, dated at Hanover, ſpecifying his motives for taking the field in Weſtphalia, the troops of the confederated ſtates that were to compoſe the allied army, under the name of an army of obſervation, began to aſſemble with all poſſible diligence near Bielefeldt. Thither the Generals, appointed to command the ſeveral diviſions, repaired, to ſettle the plan of operations with their Commander, the Duke of Cumberland, who, having left London on the ninth of April, arrived on the ſixteenth at Hanover, and from thence repaired to the army, which, having been joined by three Pruſſian regiments that retired from Weſel, conſiſted of thirty-ſeven battalions and thirty-four ſquadrons. Of theſe, ſix battalions and ſix ſquadrons were poſted at Bielefeldt, under the command of Lieutenant-General Baron de Sporcken; ſix battalions, under Lieutenant-General de Block, at Hervorden; ſix battalions and four ſquadrons, under Major-General Ledebour, between Hervorden and Minden; ſeven battalions and ten ſquadrons, under Lieutenant-General d'Oberg in the neighbourhood of Hamelen; and five battalions and four ſquadrons, under Major-General de Hauſs, near Nienburgh. The head-quarters of his Royal Highneſs were at Bielefeldt.

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§ XLII. In the mean time, the French on the Lower Rhine continued filing off inceſſantly. The ſiege of Gueldres was converted into a blockade, occaſioned by the difficulties the enemy found in raiſing batteries; and a party of Hanoverians having paſſed the Weſer, as well to ravage the country of Paderbourn as to reconnoitre the French, carried off ſeveral waggons loaded with wheat and oats,

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deſtined for the territories of the Elector of Cologn. On the other hand, Colonel Fiſcher having had an engagement with a ſmall body of Hanoverians, in the county of Tecklenburgh, routed them, and made ſome priſoners. After ſeveral other petty ſkirmiſhes between the French and the Hanoverians, the Duke of Cumberland altered the poſition of his camp, by placing it between Bielefeldt and Hervorden, in hopes of fruſtrating the deſign of the enemy; who, declining to attack him on the ſide of Bracwede, after having reconnoitred his ſituation ſeveral days, made a motion on their left, as if they meant to get between him and the Weſer. This ſtep was no ſooner taken, than, on the thirteenth of June in the afternoon, having received advice that the enemy had cauſed a large body of troops, followed by a ſecond, to march on his right to Burghotte, he ordered his army to march that evening towards Hervorden; and, at the ſame time, Major-General Hardenberg marched with four battalions of grenadiers, and a regiment of horſe, to reinforce that poſt. Count Schulenberg covered the left of the march with a battalion of grenadiers, a regiment of horſe, and the light troops of Buckeburgh. The whole army marched in two columns. The right, compoſed of horſe, and followed by two battalions, to cover their paſſage through the encloſures and defiles, paſſed by the right of Bielefeldt; and the left, conſiſting of infantry, marched by the left of the ſame town. The vanguard of the French army attacked the rear-guard of the Allies, commanded by Major-General Einſiedel, very briſkly, and at firſt put them into ſome confuſion, but they immediately recovered themſelves. This was in the beginning of the night. At break of day the enemy's reinforcements returned to the charge, but were again repulſed, nor could they once break through Lieutenant-Colonel Alfeldt's Hanoverian guards, which cloſed the army's march with a detachment

of

of regular troops, and a new-raiſed corps of hunters. CHAP. VII. 1757.

§ XLIII. The Allies encamped at Cofeldt the fourteenth, and remained there all the next day, when the enemy's detachments advanced to the gates of Hervorden, and made a feint as if they would attack the town, after having ſummoned it to ſurrender; but they retired without attempting any thing further; and, in the mean time, the troops that were poſted at Hervorden, and formed the rear-guard, paſſed the Weſer on the ſide of Remen, without any moleſtation, and encamped at Holtzuyſen. A body of troops which had been left at Bielefeldt, to cover the Duke's retreat, after ſome ſkirmiſhes with the French, rejoined the army in the neighbourhood of Herfort; and a few days after, his Royal Highneſs drew near his bridges on the Weſer, and ſent over his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. At the ſame time ſome detachments paſſed the river on the right, between Minden and Oldendorp, and marked out a new camp advantageouſly ſituated, having the Weſer in front, and the right and left covered with eminences and marſhes. There the army under his Royal Highneſs re-aſſembled, and the French fixed their headquarters at Bielefeldt, which the Hanoverians had quitted, leaving in it only a part of a magazine, which had been ſet on fire. By this time the French were in ſuch want of forage, that M. d'Etrées himſelf, the Princeſs of the blood, and all the officers without exception, were obliged to ſend back part of their horſes. However, on the tenth of June, their whole army, conſiſting of ſeventy battalions and forty ſquadrons, with fifty-two pieces of cannon, beſides a body cavalry left at Ruremonde for the conveniency of forage, was put in motion. In ſpite of almoſt impaſſable foreſts, famine, and every other obſtacle that could be thrown in their way by a vigilant and experienced General, they at length

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length ſurmounted all difficulties, and advanced into a country abounding with plenty, and unuſed to the ravages of war. It was imagined that the paſſage of the Weſer, which defends Hanover from foreign attacks, would have been vigorouſly oppoſed by the army of the Allies: but whether, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, it was thought adviſable to act only upon the defenſive, and not to begin the attack in a country that was not concerned as a principal in the war, or the Duke of Cumberland found himſelf too weak to make head againſt the enemy, is a queſtion we ſhall not pretend to determine. However that may have been, the whole French army paſſed the Weſer on the tenth and eleventh of July, without the loſs of a man. The manner of effecting this paſſage is thus related:—Mareſchal d'Etrées, being informed that his magazines of proviſions, were well furniſhed, his ovens eſtabliſhed, and the artillery and pontoons arrived at the deſtined places, ordered Lieutenant-General Broglio, with ten battalions, twelve ſquadrons, and ten pieces of cannon, to march to Engheren; Lieutenant-General M. de Chevert, with ſixteen battalions, three brigades of carabineers, the royal hunters, and ſix hundred huſſars, to march to Hervorden, and Lieutenant-General Marquis d'Armentieres, with twelve battalions, and ten ſquadrons, to march to Ulrickhauſen. All theſe troops being arrived in their camp on the fourth of July, halted the fifth. On the ſixth, twenty-two battalions, and thirty-two ſquadrons, under the command of the Duke of Orleans, who was now arrived at the army, marched to Ulrickhauſen, from whence M. d'Armentieres, had ſet out early in the morning, with the troops under his command, and by haſty marches got on the ſeventh, by eleven at night, to Blankenhoven, where he found the boats which had gone from Ahrenſberg. The bridges were built, the cannon planted, and the entrenchments at the head of

of the bridges completed in the night between the seventh and eighth. The Mareſchal having ſent away part of his baggage from Bielefeldt on the ſixth, went in perſon on the ſeventh at eleven o'clock to Horn, and on the eighth to Braket. On advice that M. d'Armentieres had thrown his bridges acroſs without oppoſition, and was at work on his entrenchments, he went on the ninth to Blankenhoven, to ſee the bridges and entrenchments; and afterwards advanced to examine the firſt poſition he intended for this army, and came down to the right ſide of the Weſer to the abbey of Corvey, where he forded the river, with the Princes of the blood, and their attendants. On the tenth in the morning he got on horſeback by four o'clock, to ſee the Duke of Orleans's diviſion file off, which arrived at Corvey at ten o'clock; as alſo that of M. d'Armentieres, which arrived at eleven, and that of M. Souvré, which arrived at noon. The Mareſchal having examined the courſe of the river, cauſed the bridges of pontoons to be laid within gun-ſhot of the Abbey, where the Viſcount de Turenne paſſed that river in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-three, and where the diviſions under Broglio and Chevart now paſſed it on the twelfth and thirteenth. Theſe two Generals being informed of what was to be done upon the Upper Weſer, attacked Minden, and carried it, whilſt a detachment of the French entered the country of Eaſt Frieſland, under the command of the Marquis d'Auvel: and, after taking poſſeſſion of Lier, marched on the right of the Ems to Embden, the only ſea-port the King of Pruſſia had, which at firſt ſeemed determined to make a defence; but the inhabitants were not agreed upon the methods to be taken for that purpoſe. They, therefore, met to deliberate, but in the mean time, their gates being ſhut, M. d'Auvel cauſed ſome cannon to be brought to beat them down; and the garriſon, compoſed of four hundred Pruſſians, not being

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§ XLIV. On Sunday, the twenty-fourth of July, the French, after having laid part of the electorate of Hanover, under contribution, marched in three columns, with their artillery, towards the village of Latford, when Major-General Fuſtenburgh, who commanded the out-ports in the village, ſent an officer to inform the Duke of Cumberland of their approach. His Royal Highneſs immediately reenforced thoſe poſts with a body of troops, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sporcken; but finding it impoſſible to ſupport the village, as it was commanded by the heights oppoſite to it, which were poſſeſſed by the enemy, and being ſenſible that it would be always in his power to retake it, from its ſituation in a bottom between two hills, he withdrew his poſt from Latford. The French then made two attacks, one at the point of the wood, and the other higher up in the ſame wood, oppoſite to the grenadiers commanded by Major-General Hardenberg, but they failed in both; and though the fire of their artillery was very hot, they were obliged to retire. The French army encamping on the heights oppoſite to the Duke of Cumberland's poſts, the intelligence received, that M. d'Etrées had aſſembled all his troops, and was furniſhed with a very conſiderable train of artillery, left his Royal Highneſs no room to doubt of his intending to attack him. He, therefore,

therefore, reſolved to change his camp for a more advantageous ſituation, by drawing up his army on the eminence between the Weſer and the woods, leaving the Hamelen River on his right, the village of Haſtenbeck in his front, and his left cloſe to the wood, at the point of which his Royal Highneſs had a battery of twelve pounders and haubitzers. There was a hollow way from the left of the village to the battery, and a moraſs on the other ſide of Haſtenbeck to his right. Major-General Schulenberg, with the hunters, and two battalions of grenadiers, was poſted in the corner of the wood upon the left of the battery; his Royal Highneſs ordered the village of Haſtenbeck to be cleared to his front, to prevent its being in the power of the enemy to keep poſſeſſion of it, and the ways by which the Allies had a communication with that village during their encampment to be rendered impaſſable. In the evening he withdrew all his outpoſts, and in this poſition the army lay upon their arms all night. On the twenty-fifth, in the morning, the French army marched forwards in columns, and began to cannonade the Allies very ſeverely, marching and counter-marching continually, and ſeeming to intend three attacks, on the right, the left, and the centre. In the evening their artillery appeared much ſuperior to that of the Allies. The army was again ordered to lie all night on their arms; his Royal Highneſs cauſed a battery at the end of the wood to be repaired; Count Schulenberg to be reinforced with a battalion of grenadiers, and two field pieces of cannon; and that battery to be alſo ſupported by four more battalions of grenadiers, under the command of Major-General Hardenberg. He likewiſe cauſed a battery to be erected of twelve ſix-pounders, behind the village of Haſtenbeck, and took all the precautions he could think of to give the enemy a warm reception. As ſoon as it was day-light, he mounted on horſe-back to reconnoitre the poſition of the

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the enemy whom he found in the ſame ſituation as the day before. At a little after five a very ſmart cannonading began againſt the battery behind the village, which was ſupported by the Heſſian infantry and cavalry, who ſtood a moſt ſevere fire with ſurpriſing ſteadineſs and reſolution. Between ſeven and eight the firing of ſmall arms began on the left of the Allies, when his Royal Highneſs ordered Major-General Behr, with three battalions of Brunſwick, to ſuſtain the grenadiers in the wood, if their aſſiſtance ſhould be wanted. The cannonading continued above ſix hours, during which the troops, that were expoſed to it, never once abated of their firmneſs. The fire of the ſmall arms on the left increaſing, and the French ſeeming to gain ground, his Royal Highneſs detached the Colonels Darkenhauſen and Bredenbach, with three Hanoverian battalions and ſix ſquadrons, round the wood by Afferde, who, towards the cloſe of the day, drove ſeveral ſquadrons of the enemy back to their army, without giving them any opportunity to charge. At length the grenadiers in the wood, apprehenſive of being ſurrounded, from the great numbers of the enemy that appeared there, and were marching round on that ſide, though they repulſed every thing that appeared in their front, thought it adviſable to retire nearer the left of the army, a motion which gave the enemy an opportunity of poſſeſſing themſelves of that battery without oppoſition. Here the Hereditary Prince of Brunſwick diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the head of a battalion of Wolfenbuttel guards, and another of Hanoverians, who attacked and repulſed, with their bayonets, a ſuperior force of the enemy, and retook the battery. But the French being in poſſeſſion of an eminence which commanded and flanked both the lines of the infantry and the battery of the Allies, and where they were able to ſupport their attack under the cover of a hill, his Royal Highneſs, conſidering the ſuperior numbers of the enemy, near double to his,

his, and the impoſſiblity of diſlodging them from their poſt, without expoſing his own troops too much, ordered a retreat; in conſequence of which his army retired, firſt to Hamelen, where he left a garriſon, then to Nienburgh, and afterwards to Hoya; in the neighbourhood of which town, after ſending away all the magazines, ſick, and wounded, he encamped, in order to cover Bremen and Verden, and to preſerve a communication with Stade, to which place the archives, and moſt valuable effects of Hanover had been removed. In this engagement, Colonel Bredenback attacked four brigades very ſtrongly poſted, with a battery of fourteen pieces of cannon, repulſed, and drove them down a precipice, and took all their artillery and ammunition; but preferring the care of his wounded to the glory of carrying away the cannon, he brought off only ſix, nailing up and deſtroying the reſt. The loſs of the Allies in all the ſkirmiſhes, which laſted three days, was three hundred and twenty-ſeven men killed, nine hundred and ſeven wounded, and two hundred and twenty miſſing, or taken priſoners; whilſt that of the French, according to their own accounts, amounted to fifteen hundred men. CHAP. VII. 1757.

§ XLV. The French, being left maſters of the field, ſoon reduced Hamelen, which was far from being well fortified, obliged the garriſon to capitulate, and took out of the town ſixty braſs cannon, ſeveral mortars, forty ovens, part of the equipage of the Duke's army, and large quantities of proviſions and ammunition, which they found in it, together with a great many ſick and wounded, who, not being included in the capitulation, were made priſoners of war. Whether the Court of France had any reaſon to find fault with the conduct of the Mareſchal d'Etrées, or whether its Monarch was blindly guided by the counſels of his favourite, the Marquiſe de Pompadour, who, deſirous to teſtify her gratitude to the man who had been one of the

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chief inſtruments of her high promotion, was glad of an opportunity to retrieve his ſhattered fortunes, and, at the ſame time, to add to her own already immenſe treaſures, we ſhall not pretend to determine; though the event ſeems plainly to ſpeak the laſt. Even at the time, no compariſon was made between the military ſkill of the Mareſchal d'Etrées, and that of the Duke de Richelieu; but, however that may have been, this laſt, who, if he had not ſhone in the character of a ſoldier, excelled all, or at leaſt moſt of his contemporaries in the more refined arts of a courtier, was, juſt before the battle we have been ſpeaking of, appointed to ſuperſede the former in the command of the French army in Lower Saxony, where he arrived on the ſixth of Auguſt, with the title of Mareſchal of France; and M. d'Etrées immediately reſigned the command.

§ XLVI. Immediately after the battle of Haſtenbeck, the French ſent a detachment of four thouſand men to lay under contribution the countries of Hanover and Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttel, as well as the duchies of Bremen and Verden; and two days after the arrival of this new Commander, the Duke de Chevreuſe was detached with two thouſand men to take poſſeſſion of Hanover itſelf, with the title of Governor of that city. He accordingly marched thither; and upon his arrival the Hanoverian garriſon was diſarmed, and left at liberty to retire where they pleaſed. About the ſame time M. de Contades, with a detachment from the French army, was ſent to make himſelf maſter of the territories of Heſſe-Caſſel, where he found no oppoſition. He was met at Warberg by that Prince's maſter of the horſe, who declared, that they were ready to furniſh the French army with all the ſuccours the country could afford; and accordingly the magiſtrates of Caſſel preſented him with the keys as ſoon as he entered their city. Gottingen was ordered by M. d'Armentieres to prepare for him within a limited time, upon pain of

of military execution, four thouſand pounds of white bread, two thouſand buſhels of oats, a greater quantity than could be found in the whole country, an hundred loads of hay, and other proviſions. CHAP. VII. 1757.

§ XLVII. The Duke of Cumberland remained encamped in the neighbourhood of Hoya till the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, when, upon advice that the enemy had laid two bridges over the Aller in the night, and had paſſed that river with a large body of troops, he ordered his army to march, to ſecure the important poſt and paſſage of Rothenbourg, leſt they ſhould attempt to march round on his left. He encamped that night at Hauſen, having detached Lieutenant-General Oberg, with eight battalions and ſix ſquadrons, to Otterſberg, to which place he marched next day, and encamped behind the Wummer, in a very ſtrong ſituation, between Otterſberg and Rothenbourg. The French took poſſeſſion of Verden on the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, and one of their detachments went on the twenty-ninth to Bremen, where the gates were immediately opened to them. The Duke of Cumberland, now cloſely preſſed on all ſides, and in danger of having his communication with Stade cut off, which the enemy was endeavouring to effect, by ſeizing upon all the poſts round him, found it neceſſary to decamp again; to abandon Rothenbourg, of which the French immediately took poſſeſſion; to retreat to Selſingen, where his head-quarters were, on the firſt of September; and from thence, on the third of the ſame month, to retire under the cannon of Stade. Here it was imagined that his army would have been able to maintain their ground between the Aller and the Elbe, till the ſeverity of the ſeaſon ſhould put an end to the campaign. Accordingly, his Royal Highneſs, upon his taking this poſition, ſent a detachment of his forces to Buck-Schantz, with ſome artillery, and orders to defend that place to the utmoſt: but as it could not poſſibly have held out

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many days, and as the French, who now hemmed him on all ſides, by making themſelves maſters of a little fort at the mouth of the river Swinga, would have cut off his communication with the Elbe, ſo that four Engliſh men of war, then in that river, could have been of no ſervice to him, he was forced to accept of a mediation offered by the King of Denmark, by his miniſter the Count de Lynar, and to ſign the famous convention of Cloſter-Seven*, by which thirty-eight thouſand

* This remarkable capitulation, which we ſhall give here at full length, on account of the diſputes that roſe ſhortly after, concerning what the French called an infraction of it, was to the following effect:

"His Majeſty the King of Denmark, touched with the diſtreſſes of the countries of Bremen and Verden, to which he has always granted his ſpecial protection; and being deſirous, by preventing thoſe countries from being any longer the theatre of war, to ſpare alſo the effuſion of blood in the armies which are ready to diſpute the poſſeſſion thereof; hath employed his mediation by the miniſtry of the Count de Lynar. His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland, General of the army of the Allies, on the one part, and his Excellency the Mareſchal Duke de Richelieu, General of the King of France's forces in Germany, on the other, have, in conſideration of the intervention of his Daniſh Majeſty, reſpectively engaged their word of honour to the Count de Lynar, to abide by the convention hereafter ſtipulated; and he, the Count de Lynar, correſpondently to the magnanimity of the King his maſter's intention, obliges himſelf to procure the guarantee mentioned in the preſent convention; ſo that it ſhall be ſent to him, with his full powers, which there was no time to make out, in the circumſtances which hurried his departure.

Article I. Hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe on both ſides within twenty four hours, or ſooner, if poſſible. Orders for this purpoſe ſhall be immediately ſent to the detached corps.

II. The auxiliary troops of the army of the Duke of Cumberland, namely, thoſe of Heſſe, Brunſwick, Saxe-Gotha, and even thoſe of the Count de la Lippe Buckbourg, ſhall be ſent home; and as it is neceſſary to ſettle particularly their march to the reſpective countries, a general officer of each nation ſhall be ſent from the army of the Allies, with whom ſhall be ſettled the route of thoſe troops, the diviſions they ſhall march in, their ſubſiſtence on their march, and their paſſports to be granted them by his Excellency the Duke de Richelieu to go to their own countries, where they ſhall be placed and diſtributed as ſhall be agreed upon between the Court of France and their reſpective Sovereigns.

III. His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland obliges himſelf to paſs the Elbe, with ſuch part of his army as he ſhall not be able to place in the city of Stade: That the part of his forces which ſhall enter into garriſon in the ſaid city, and which it is ſuppoſed may amount

ſand Hanoverians laid down their arms, and were diſperſed into different quarters of cantonment. CHAP. VII. 1757.

amount to between four and ſix thouſand men, ſhall remain there under the guarantee of his Majeſty the King of Denmark, without committing any act of hoſtility; nor, on the other hand, ſhall they be expoſed to any of the French troops. In conſequence thereof, commiſſaries, named on each ſide, ſhall agree upon the limits to be fixed round that place, for the conveniency of the garriſon; which limits ſhall not extend beyond half a league, or a league, from the place, according to the nature of the ground or circumſtances, which ſhall be fairly ſettled by the commiſſaries. The reſt of the Hanoverian army ſhall go and take quarters in the country beyond the Elbe; and, to facilitate the march of thoſe troops, his Excellency the Duke de Richelieu ſhall concert with a general officer, ſent from the Hanoverian army, the route they ſhall take; obliging himſelf to give the neceſſary paſſports and ſecurity for the free paſſage of them, and their baggage, to the places of their deſtination; his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland reſerving to himſelf the liberty of negociating between the two Courts for an extenſion of thoſe quarters. As to the French troops, they ſhall remain in the reſt of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, till the definitive reconciliation of the two Sovereigns.

IV. As the aforeſaid articles are to be executed as ſoon as poſſible, the Hanoverian army, and the corps which are detached from it, particularly that which is at Buck-Schantz, and the neighbourhood, ſhall retire under Stade in the ſpace of eight-and-forty hours. The French army ſhall not paſs the river Oſte, in the duchy of Bremen, till the limits be regulated. It ſhall, beſides, keep all the poſts and countries of which it is in poſſeſſion; and, not to retard the regulation of the limits between the armies; commiſſaries ſhall be nominated and ſent on the tenth inſtant to Bremen-worden, by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland, and his Excellency the Mareſchal Duke de Richelieu, to regulate, as well the limits to be aſſigned to the French army, as thoſe that are to be obſerved by the garriſon at Stade, according to Art. III.

V. All the aforeſaid articles ſhall be faithfully executed, according to their form and tenor, and under the faith of his Majeſty the King of Denmark's guarantee, which the Count de Lynar, his miniſter, engages to procure.

Done at the camp at Cloſter-Seven, Sept. 8, 1757.

Signed WILLIAM.

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

UPON the repreſentation made by the Count de Lynar, with a view to explain ſome diſpoſitions made by the preſent convention, the following articles have been added:

I. It is the intention of his Excellence the Mareſchal Duke de Richelieu, that the allied troops of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland ſhall be ſent back to their reſpective countries, according to the form mentioned in the ſecond article; and that as to their ſeparation and diſtribution in the country, it ſhall be regulated between the Courts, thoſe troops not being conſidered as priſoners of war.

II. It having been repreſented that the country of Lunenberg cannot accommodate more than fifteen battalions and ſix ſquadrons, and

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that the city of Stade cannot abſolutely contain the garriſon of ſix thouſand men allotted to it, his Excellency the Mareſchal Duke de Richelieu, being preſſed by M. de Lynar, who ſupported this repreſentation by the guarantee of his Daniſh Majeſty, gives his conſent: and his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland engages to cauſe fifteen battalions and ſix ſquadrons to paſs the Elbe, and the whole body of hunters, and the remaining ten battalions and twenty-eight ſquadrons ſhall be placed in the town of Stade, and the places neareſt to it that are within the line, which ſhall be marked by poſts from the mouth of the Liche in the Elbe, to the mouth of the Elmerbeck in the river Oſte; provided always, that the ſaid ten battalions and twenty-eight ſquadrons ſhall be quartered there as they are at the time of ſigning this convention, and ſhall not be recruited under any pretext, or augmented in any caſe; and this clauſe is particularly guaranteed by the Count de Lynar in the name of his Daniſh Majeſty.

III. Upon the repreſentation of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland, that the army and the detached corps cannot both retire under Stade in eight-and-forty hours, agreeable to the convention, his Excellency the Mareſchal Duke de Richlieu hath ſignified, that he will grant them proper time, provided the corps encamped at Buck Schantz, as well as the army encamped at Bremer-worden, begin their march to retire in four-and-twenty hours after ſigning the convention. The time neceſſary for other arrangements, and the execution of the articles concerning the reſpective limits, ſhall be ſettled between Lieutenant-General Sporcken, and the Marquis de Villemar, firſt Lieutenant-General of the King's army.

Done, &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

§ I. *The French enter the Prussian dominions, where they commit great disorders.* § II. *Reflections on the misconduct of the allied army.* § III. *Russian fleet blocks up the Prussian ports in the Baltic.* § IV. *Russians take Memel.* § V. *Declaration of the King of Prussia on that occasion.* § VI. *Army of the Empire raised with difficulty.* § VII. *The Austrians take Gabel.* § VIII. *And destroy Zittau.* § IX. *The Prince of Prussia leaves the army.* § X. *Communication between England and Ostend broke off. Gueldres capitulates.* § XI. *Skirmishes between the Prussians and Austrians. And between the Prussians and Russians.* § XII. *Mareschal Lehwald attacks the Russians in their entrenchments near Norkitten.* § XIII. *Hasty retreat of the Russians out of Prussia.* § XIV. *French and Imperialists take Gotha.* § XV. *Action between the Prussians and Austrians near Goerlitz.* § XVI. *The French oblige Prince Ferdinand to retire.* § XVII. *Berlin laid under contribution by the Austrians: and Leipzig subjected to military execution by the Prussians.* § XVIII. *Battle of Rosbach.* § XIX. *The Austrians take Schweidnitz; and defeat the Prince of Bevern near Breslau.* § XX. *Mareschal Keith lays Bohemia under contribution. King of Prussia defeats the Austrians at Lissa; retakes Breslau and Schweidnitz, and becomes master of all Silesia.* § XXI. *Hostilities of the Swedes in Pomerania.* § XXII. *Mareschal Lehwald forces the Swedes to retire.* § XXIII. *Memorial presented to the Dutch by Col. Yorke, relative to Ostend and Nieuport.* § XXIV. *King of Prussia's letter to the King of Great-Britain. His Britannick Majesty's declaration.* § XXV. *Disputes concerning the convention of Closter-Seven.* § XXVI. *Progress of the Hanoverian army.* § XXVII. *Death*

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§ I. THE Hanoverians being now quite ſubdued, and the whole force of the French let looſe againſt the King of Pruſſia by this treaty, Mareſchal Richelieu immediately ordered Lieutenant-General Berchini to march with all poſſible expedition, with the troops under his command, to join the Prince de Soubiſe: the gens-d'armes, and other troops that were in the Landgraviate of Heſſe-Caſſel, received the ſame order; and ſixty battalions

of foot, and the greateſt part of the horſe belonging to the French army, were directed to attack the Pruſſian territories. Mareſchal Richelieu himſelf arrived at Brunſwick on the fifteenth of September; and having, in a few days after, aſſembled an hundred and ten battalions, and an hundred and fifty ſquadrons, with an hundred pieces of cannon, near Wolfenbuttel, he entered the King of Pruſſia's dominions with his army on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of the ſame month, in three columns, which penetrated into Halberſtadt and Brandenburgh, plundering the towns, exacting contributions, and committing many enormities, at which their General is ſaid to have connived. In the mean time the Duke of Cumberland returned to England, where he arrived on the 11th of October, and ſhortly after reſigned all his military commands.

§ II. Had the allied army, after the battle of Haſtenbeck, marched directly to the Leine, as it might eaſily have done, and then taken poſt on the other ſide of Wolfenbuttel, Halberſtadt, and Magdebourg, it might have waited ſecurely under the cannon of the latter place for the junction of the Pruſſian forces; inſtead of which, they injudiciouſly turned off to the Lower Weſer, retiring ſucceſſively from Hamelen to Nienburgh, Verden, Rothenburgh, Buxtchude, and laſtly to Stade, where, for want of ſubſiſtence and elbow-room, the troops were all made priſoners of war at large. They made a march of an hundred and fifty miles to be cooped up in a nook, inſtead of taking the other route, which was only about an hundred miles, and would have led them to a place of ſafety. By this unaccountable conduct, the King of Pruſſia was not only deprived of the aſſiſtance of near forty thouſand good troops, which, in the cloſe of the campaign, might have put him upon an equality with the French and the army of the Empire; but alſo expoſed to, and actually invaded by, his numerous enemies on all ſides, inſomuch

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insomuch that his situation became now more dangerous than ever; and the fate which seemed to have threatened the Empress a few months before, through his means, was, to all appearance, turned against himself. His ruin was predicted, nor could human prudence foresee how he might be extricated from his complicated distress; for, besides the invasion of his territories by the French under the Duke de Richelieu, the Russians, who had made for a long time a dilatory march, and seemed uncertain of their own resolutions, all at once quickened their motions, and entered Ducal Prussia, under Mareschal Apraxin and General Fermor, marking their progress by every inhumanity that unbridled cruelty, lust, and rapine can be imagined capable of committing. A large body of Austrians entered Silesia, and penetrated as far as Breslau: then, turning back, they laid siege to the important fortress of Schweidnitz, the key of that country. A second body entered Lusatia, another quarter of the Prussian territories, and made themselves masters of Zittau. Twenty-two thousand Swedes penetrated into Prussian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmin, and laid the whole country under contribution. The army of the Empire, reinforced by that of Prince Soubise, after many delays, was at last in full march to enter Saxony; and this motion left the Austrians at liberty to turn the greatest part of their forces to the reduction of Silesia. An Austrian General penetrating through Lusatia, passed by the Prussian armies, and suddenly presenting himself before the gates of Berlin, laid the whole country under contribution; and though he retired on the approach of a body of Prussians, yet he still found means to interrupt the communication of these last with Silesia. The Prussians, it is true, exerted themselves bravely on all sides, and their enemies fled before them; but whilst one body was pursuing, another gained upon them in some other part. The winter approached,

their

their ſtrength decayed, and their adverſaries multiplied daily. Their King haraſſed, and almoſt ſpent with inceſſant fatigue both of body and of mind, was in a manner excluded from the Empire. The greateſt part of his dominions were either taken from him, or laid under contribution, and poſſeſſed by his enemies; who collected the publick revenues, fattened on the contributions, and with the riches which they drew from the electorate of Hanover, and other conqueſts, defrayed the expences of the war; and by the convention of Cloſter-Seven he was deprived of his allies, and left without any aſſiſtance whatever, excepting what the Britiſh Parliament might think fit to ſupply. How different is this picture from that which the King of Pruſſia exhibited when he took arms to enter Saxony! But, in order to form a clear idea of theſe events, of the ſituation of his Pruſſian Majeſty, and of the ſteps he took to defeat the deſigns of his antagoniſts, and extricate himſelf from his great and numerous diſtreſſes, it will be proper now to take a view of the ſeveral tranſactions of his enemies, as well during his ſtay in Bohemia, as from the time of his leaving it, down to that which we are now ſpeaking of. CHAP. VIII. 1757.

§ III. Whilſt the King of Pruſſia was in Bohemia, the Empreſs of Ruſſia ordered notice to be given to all maſters of ſhips, That if any of them were found aſſiſting the Pruſſians, by the tranſportation of troops, artillery, and ammunition, they ſhould be condemned as legal prizes: and her fleet, conſiſting of fifteen men of war and frigates, with two bomb-ketches, was ſent to block up the Pruſſian Ports in the Baltic, where it took ſeveral ſhips of that nation, which were employed in carrying proviſions and merchandize from one port to another. One of theſe ſhips of war appearing before Memel, a town of Poland, but ſubject to Pruſſia, the Commandant ſent an officer to the Captain, to know whether he came as a friend or an enemy; to which interrogation

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tion the Ruſſian Captain replied, That, notwithſtanding the diſpoſitions of the Empreſs of both the Ruſſias were ſufficiently known, yet he would further explain them, by declaring that his orders, and thoſe of the other Ruſſian Commanders, were, in conformity to the laws of war, to ſeize on all the Pruſſian veſſels they met with on their cruiſe. Upon which the Commandant of Memel immediately gave orders for pointing the cannon to fire upon all Ruſſian ſhips that ſhould approach that place.

§ IV. The land-forces of the Ruſſians had now lingered on their march upwards of ſix months; and it was pretty generally doubted, by thoſe who were ſuppoſed to have the beſt intelligence, whether they ever were deſigned really to paſs into the Pruſſian territories, not only on account of their long ſtay on the borders of Lithuania, but alſo becauſe ſeveral of their Coſſacks had been ſeverely puniſhed for plundering the waggons of ſome Pruſſian peaſants upon the frontiers of Courland, and the damage of the peaſants compenſated with money, though General Apraxin's army was at the ſame time greatly diſtreſſed by the want of proviſions; when, on a ſudden, they quickened their motions, and ſhowed they were, in earneſt, determined to accompliſh the ruin of Pruſſia. Their firſt act of hoſtility was the attack of Memel, which ſurrendered: and, by the articles of capitulation, it was agreed, that the garriſon ſhould march out with all the honours of war, after having engaged not to ſerve againſt the Empreſs, or any of her allies, for the ſpace of one year.

§ V. His Pruſſian Majeſty, juſtly foreſeeing the great enormities that were to be expected from theſe ſavage enemies, who were unaccuſtomed to make war, except upon nations as barbarous as themſelves, who looked upon war only as an opportunity for plunder, and every country through which they happened to march as their's by right of conqueſt,

publiſhed

publiſhed the following declaration:—"It is ſuffi-
ciently known, that the King of Pruſſia, after the
example of his glorious predeceſſors, has, ever ſince
his acceſſion to the crown, laid it down as a maxim
to ſeek the friendſhip of the Imperial Court of Ruſ-
ſia, and cultivate it by every method. His Pruſſian
Majeſty hath had the ſatisfaction to live, for ſeveral
ſucceſſive years, in the ſtricteſt harmony with the
reigning Empreſs; and this happy union would be
ſtill ſubſiſting, if evil-minded potentates had not
broke it by their ſecret machinations, and carried
things to ſuch a height, that the miniſters on both
ſides have been recalled, and the correſpondence
broken off. However melancholy theſe circum-
ſtances might be for the King, his majeſty was ne-
verthelefs moſt attentive to prevent any-thing that
might increaſe the alienation of the Ruſſian Court.
He hath been particularly careful, during the diſ-
turbances of the war that now unhappily rages, to
avoid whatever might involve him in a difference
with that Court, notwithſtanding the great grievances
he hath to alledge againſt it; and that it was pub-
lickly known the Court of Vienna had at laſt drawn
that of Ruſſia into its deſtructive views, and made it
ſerve as an inſtrument for favouring the ſchemes of
Auſtria. His Majeſty hath given the whole world
inconteſtible proofs, that he was under an indiſ-
penſable neceſſity of having recourſe to the meaſures
he hath taken againſt the Courts of Vienna and
Saxony, who forced him by their conduct to take
up arms for his defence. Yet, even ſince things
have been brought to this extremity, the King hath
offered to lay down his arms, if proper ſecurities
ſhould be granted to him. His majeſty hath not
neglected to expoſe the artifices by which the Im-
perial Court of Ruſſia hath been drawn into meaſures
ſo oppoſite to the Empreſs's ſentiments, and which
would excite the utmoſt indignation of that great
Princeſs, if the truth could be placed before her
without

BOOK III. 1757. without diſguiſe. The King did more: he ſuggeſted to her Imperial Majeſty ſufficient means either to excuſe her not taking any part in the preſent war, or to avoid, upon the juſteſt grounds, the execution of thoſe engagements which the Court of Vienna claimed by a manifeſt abuſe of obligations, which they employed to palliate their unlawful views. It wholly depended upon the Empreſs of Ruſſia to extinguiſh the flames of the war, without unſheathing the ſword, by purſuing the meaſures ſuggeſted by the King. This conduct would have immortalized her reign throughout all Europe. It would have gained her more laſting glory than can be acquired by the greateſt triumphs. The King finds with regret, that all his precautions and care to maintain peace with the Ruſſian empire are fruitleſs, and that the intrigues of his enemies have prevailed. His Majeſty ſees all the conſiderations of friendſhip and good neighbourhood ſet aſide by the Imperial Court of Ruſſia, as well as the obſervance of its engagements with his Majeſty. He ſees that Court marching its troops through the territories of a foreign Power, and, contrary to the tenor of treaties, in order to attack the King in his dominions: and thus taking part in a war, in which his enemies have involved the Ruſſian empire. In ſuch circumſtances, the King hath no other part to take, but to employ the power which God hath entruſted to him in defending himſelf, protecting his ſubjects, and repelling every unjuſt attack. His Majeſty will never loſe ſight of the rules which are obſerved, even in the midſt of war, among civilized nations. But if, contrary to all hope and expectation, theſe rules ſhould be violated by the troops of Ruſſia, if they commit in the King's territories diſorders and exceſſes diſallowed by the law of arms, his Majeſty muſt not be blamed if he makes repriſals in Saxony: and if, inſtead of that good order and rigorous diſcipline which have hitherto been obſerved by his army,

avoiding all sorts of violence, he finds himself forced, contrary to his inclination, to suffer the provinces and subjects of Saxony to be treated in the same manner as his own territories shall be treated. As to the rest, the King will soon publish to the whole world the futility of the reasons alledged by the Imperial Court of Russia to justify its aggression; and as his Majesty is forced upon making his defence, he has room to hope, with confidence, that the Lord of Hosts will bless his righteous arms: that he will disappoint the unjust enterprises of his enemies, and grant him his powerful assistance, to enable him to make head against them."

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§ VI. When the King of Prussia was put under the ban of the empire, the several Princes who compose that body were required, by the decree of the Aulick council, as we observed before, to furnish their respective contingents against him. Those who feared him looked upon this as a fair opportunity of reducing him; and those who stood in awe of the House of Austria were, through necessity, compelled to support that Power which they dreaded. Besides, they were accustomed to the influence of a family, in which the Empire had, for a long time, been in a manner hereditary; and were also intimidated by the appearance of a confederacy, the most formidable, perhaps, that the world had ever seen. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the contingents, both of men and money, were collected slowly; the troops were badly composed; and many of those, not only of the Protestant Princes, but also of the Catholicks, showed the utmost reluctance to act against his Prussian Majesty, which, indeed, none of them would have been able to do, had it not been for the assistance of the French under the Prince de Soubise. The Elector-Palatine lost above a thousand men by desertion. Four thousand of the troops belonging to the Duke of Wirtemberg being delivered to the French Commissary on the twenty-fourth of June, were

BOOK III. 1757. were immediately reviewed; but the review was ſcarcely finiſhed, when they began to cry aloud, that they were ſold. Next morning thirty of them deſerted at once, and were ſoon followed by parties of twenty and thirty each, who forced their way through the detachments that guarded the gates of Stutgard, and in the evening the mutiny became general. They fired upon the officers in their barracks, and let their General know, that if he did not immediately withdraw, they would put him to death. Meanwhile, ſome of the officers having purſued the deſerters, brought back a part of them priſoners, when the reſt of the ſoldiers declared, that if they were not immediately releaſed, they would ſet fire to the ſtadthouſe and barracks; upon which the priſoners were ſet at liberty late in the evening. Next morning the ſoldiers aſſembled, and having ſeized ſome of the officers, three or four hundred of them marched out of the town at that time, with the muſick of the regiments playing before them; and in this manner near three thouſand of them filed off, and the remainder were afterwards diſcharged.

§ VII. The King of Pruſſia, upon his leaving Bohemia, after the battle of Kolin, retired towards Saxony, as we obſerved before; and having ſent his heavy artillery and mortars up the Elbe to Dreſden, fixed his camp on the banks of the river, at Leitmeritz, where his main army was ſtrongly entrenched, whilſt Mareſchal Keith, with the troops under his command, encamped on the oppoſite ſhore; a free communication being kept open by means of a bridge. At the ſame time detachments were ordered to ſecure the paſſes into Saxony. As this poſition of the King of Pruſſia prevented the Auſtrians from being able to penetrate into Saxony by the way of the Elbe, they moved, by ſlow marches, into the circle of Buntzlau, and, at laſt, with a detachment commanded by the Duke d'Aremberg and M. Macguire, on the eighteenth of June fell ſuddenly

denly upon, and took the important poſt at Gabel, ſituated between Boemiſh-Leypa, and Zittau, after an obſtinate defence made by the Pruſſian garriſon, under Major-General Putkammer, conſiſting of four battalions, who were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. The Auſtrians having by this motion gained a march towards Luſatia, upon a corps which had been detached under the command of the Prince of Pruſſia to watch them, his Pruſſian Majeſty thought proper to leave Leitmeritz on the twentieth in the morning, and lay that night at Lickowitz, a village oppoſite to Leitmeritz, of which a battalion of his troops ſtill kept poſſeſſion, while the reſt of his army remained encamped in the plain before that place. Next morning, at break of day, Prince Henry decamped, and made ſo good a diſpoſition for his retreat, that he did not loſe a ſingle man, though he marched in ſight of the whole body of Auſtrian irregulars. He paſſed the bridge at Leitmeritz, after withdrawing the battalion that was in the town, and having burnt the bridge, the whole army united, and made a ſmall movement towards the paſſes of the mountains; the King then lying at Sulowitz, near the field where the battle of Lowoſchutz was fought on the firſt of October of the preceding year. The heavy baggage was ſent on in the afternoon, with a proper eſcorte; and in the morning of the twenty-ſecond the army marched in two columns, and encamped on the high grounds at Luſechitz, a little beyond Lenai, where it halted the twenty-third. No attack was made upon the rear-guard, though great numbers of Auſtrian huſſars, and other irregulars, had appeared the evening before within cannon-ſhot of the Pruſſian camp. On the twenty-fourth the army marched to Nellendorf; on the twenty-fifth it encamped near Cotta, on the twenty-ſixth near Pirna, where it halted the next day; and on the twenty-eighth it croſſed the river near that place, and entered Luſatia, where, by the end of the month, it encamped near Bautzen.

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1737.

§ VIII. The King's army made this retreat with all the ſucceſs that could be wiſhed; but the corps under the Prince of Pruſſia had not the ſame good fortune: for the Auſtrians, immediately after their taking Gabel, ſent a ſtrong detachment againſt Zittau, a trading town in the circle of Upper Saxony, where the Pruſſians had large magazines, and a garriſon of ſix battalions, and, in his ſight, attacked it with uncommon rage. Paying no regard to the inhabitants as being friends or allies, but determined to reduce the place before the King of Pruſſia could have time to march to its relief, they no ſooner arrived before it, than they bombarded and cannonaded it with ſuch fury, that moſt of the garriſon, finding themſelves unable to reſiſt, made their eſcape, and carried off as much as they could of the magazines, leaving only three or four hundred men in the town, under Colonel Diricke, to hold it out as long as poſſible; which he accordingly did, till the whole place was almoſt deſtroyed. The cannonading began on the twenty-third of July, at eleven in the morning, and laſted till five in the evening. In this ſpace of time four thouſand balls, many of them red hot, were fired into this unfortunate city, with ſo little intermiſſion, that it was ſoon ſet on fire in ſeveral places. In the confuſion which the conflagration produced, the Auſtrians entered the town, and the inhabitants imagined that they had then nothing further to fear; and that their friends the Auſtrians would aſſiſt them in extinguiſhing the flames, and ſaving the place: but in this particular their expectations were diſappointed. The Pandours and Sclavonians, who ruſhed in with regular troops, made no diſtinction between the Pruſſians and the inhabitants of Zittau: inſtead of helping to quench the flames, they began to plunder the warehouſes which the fire had not reached; ſo that all the valuable merchandize they contained was either carried off, or reduced to aſhes. Upwards of

ſix

six hundred houses, and almost all the publick buildings, the cathedrals of St. John and St. James, the orphan-house, eight parsonage-houses, eight schools, the town-house, and every thing contained in it, the publick weigh-house, the prison, the archives, and all the other documents of the town-council, the plate, and other things of value, presented to the town, from time to time, by the Emperors, Kings, and other Princes and Noblemen, were entirely destroyed, and more than four hundred citizens were killed in this assault. Of the whole town there was left standing only one hundred and thirty-eight houses, two churches, the council, library, and the salt-work. The Queen of Poland was so affected by this melancholy account, that she is said to have fainted away upon hearing it. As this city belonged to their friend the King of Poland, the Austrians thought proper to publish an excuse for their conduct, ascribing it entirely to the necessity they were under, and the obstinate defence made by the Prussian garrison. But what excuses can atone for such barbarity?

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§ IX. The corps under the Prince of Prussia, which had been witnesses to the destruction of this unhappy place, was, by the King's march to Bautzen, fortunately extricated from the danger of being surrounded by the Austrians, who, upon his Majesty's approach, retired from their posts on the right. Soon after this event, the Prince of Prussia, finding his health much impaired by the fatigues of the campaign*, quitted the army, and returned to

* This was the reason that was publickly assigned for his quitting the army: but a much more probable one, which was only whispered, seems to have been, that this Prince, than whom none ever was more remarkable for humanity and the social virtues, disliking the violent proceedings of the King his brother, could not refrain from expostulating with him on that subject; upon which his Majesty, with an air of great disapprobation, told him, "That the air of Berlin would be better for him than that of the camp." The Prince accordingly retired to Berlin, where he died soon after; grief and concern for the welfare of his brother, and for the steps taken by him, having no small share in his death.

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Berlin. In the mean time, Mareſchal Keith, who had been left upon the frontier, to guard the paſſes of the mountains of Bohemia, arrived at Pirna, having been much haraſſed in his march by the enemy's irregular troops, and loſt ſome waggons of proviſions and baggage. After reſting a day at Pirna, he purſued his march through Dreſden with twenty battalions, and forty ſquadrons, and encamped on the right of the Elbe, before the gate of the new city, from whence he joined the King between Bautzen and Goerlitz. The Pruſſian army, now reaſſembled at this place, amounted to about ſixty thouſand men, beſides twelve battalions and ten ſquadrons which remained in the famous camp at Pirna, under the Prince of Anhalt-Deſſau, to cover Dreſden, ſecure the gorges of the mountains, and check the incurſions of the Auſtrian irregulars, with whom, as they were continually flying about the ſkirts of the Pruſſian army, as well in their encampments as on their marches, almoſt daily ſkirmiſhes happened, with various ſucceſs. Though ſome of theſe encounters were very bloody, they coſt the Pruſſians much fewer men than they loſt by deſertion ſince the battle of Kolin. The reaſon ſeems obvious:—The Pruſſian army had been recruited, in times of peace, from all parts of Germany: and though this way of recruiting may be very proper in ſuch times, yet it cannot be expected to anſwer in a ſtate of actual war, eſpecially an unfortunate war: becauſe the fidelity of ſuch ſoldiers can never be ſo much depended on as that of natives, who ſerve their natural Sovereign from principle, and not merely for pay, and who muſt deſert their country, their parents and their friends, at the ſame time that they deſert their prince.

§ X. It will be proper here to take notice of ſome events which could not eaſily be mentioned before, without breaking through the order we have propoſed to ourſelves in the writing of this hiſtory.—The Em-

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preſs-Queen, more embittered than ever againſt the King of Pruſſia and his allies, recalled her miniſters, Count Coloredo and Monſ. Zohern from London, towards the beginning of July; and about the ſame time Count Kaunitz, great Chancellor of the Empire, informed Mr. Keith, the Britiſh miniſter at Vienna, that the Court of London, by the ſuccours it had given, and ſtill continued to give, the King of Pruſſia, as well as by other circumſtances relating to the preſent ſtate of affairs, having broken the ſolemn engagements which united this crown with the Houſe of Auſtria, her Majeſty the Empreſs-Queen had thought proper to recal her miniſter from England, and conſequently to break off all correſpondence. Mr. Keith, in purſuance of this notice, ſet out from Vienna on the twenty-ninth of July; as did alſo Mr. Deſrolles, his Britannick Majeſty's miniſter at the Court of Bruſſels, from this laſt place, about the ſame time. On the ſeventh of July, General Piſa, Commandant of Oſtend, Nieuport, and the maritime ports of Flanders, ſent his Adjutant to the Engliſh Vice-conſul at Oſtend, at ſix o'clock in the morning, to tell him, that by orders from his court all communication with England was broke off; and deſired the Vice-conſul to intimate to the pacquet-boats and Britiſh ſhipping at Oſtend, Bruges, and Nieuport, to depart in twenty-four hours, and not to return into any of the ports of the Empreſs-Queen till further diſpoſition ſhould be made. The reaſons alledged by the Court of Vienna for debarring the ſubjects of his Britannick Majeſty from the uſe of theſe ports, obtained for the Houſe of Auſtria by the arms and treaſures of Great-Britain, were, "That her Imperial Majeſty the Empreſs-Queen, could not, with indifference, ſee England, inſtead of giving the ſuccours due to her by the moſt ſolemn treaties, enter into an alliance with her enemy the King of Pruſſia, and actually afford him all manner of aſſiſtance, aſſembling armies to oppoſe thoſe which

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the Moſt Chriſtian King, her ally, had ſent to her aid; and ſuffering privateers to exerciſe open violence in her roads, under the cannon of her ports and coaſts, without giving the leaſt ſatisfaction or anſwer to the complaints made on that account; and the King of Great-Britain himſelf, at the very time ſhe was offering him a neutrality for Hanover, publiſhing, by a meſſage to his parliament, that ſhe had formed, with the Moſt Chriſtian King, dangerous deſigns againſt that electorate: therefore, her Majeſty, deſirous of providing for the ſecurity of her ports, judged it expedient to give the forementioned orders; and at the ſame time to declare, that ſhe could no longer permit a free communication between her ſubjects and the Engliſh, which had hitherto been founded upon treaties that Great-Britain had, without ſcruple, openly violated." Notwithſtanding theſe orders, the Engliſh pacquet-boats, with letters, were allowed to paſs as uſual to and from Oſtend; the miniſters of her Imperial Majeſty wiſely conſidering how good a revenue the poſtage of Engliſh letters brings in to the poſt-office of the Auſtrian Netherlands. Oſtend and Nieuport, by order of her Imperial Majeſty, received each of them a French garriſon; the former on the nineteenth of July, and the latter the next day, under the command of M. de la Motte, upon whoſe arrival the Auſtrian troops evacuated thoſe places; though the Empreſs-Queen ſtill reſerved to herſelf, in both of them, the full and free exerciſe of all her rights of ſovereignty; to which purpoſe an oath was adminiſtered to the French Commandant by her Majeſty's Miniſter-plenipotentiary for the government of the Low-Countries. At the ſame time, their Imperial and Moſt Chriſtian Majeſties notified to the magiſtracy of Hamburgh, that they muſt not admit any Engliſh men of war, or tranſports, into their port, on pain of having a French garriſon impoſed on them. The city of Gueldres which had been blocked

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up by the French ever ſince the beginning of ſummer, was forced by famine to capitulate on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, and the garriſon marched out with all the honours of war, in order to be conducted to Berlin: but ſo many of them deſerted, that when they paſſed by Cologn, the whole garriſon conſiſted only of the Commandant, and forty-ſeven men. By the ſurrender of this place the whole country lay open to the French and their allies quite up to Magdebourg; and the Empreſs-Queen immediately received two hundred thouſand crowns from the revenues of Cleves and La Marcke alone. CHAP. VIII. 1757.

§ XI. To return to the affairs more immediately relating to the King of Pruſſia. The advanced poſts of the Prince of Anhalt-Deſſau at Pirna ware attacked, on the tenth of Auguſt, by a body of huſſars, and other irregular troops of the Auſtrians; but the Pruſſians ſoon obliged them to retire, with the loſs of ſeveral men and two pieces of cannon. On the nineteenth of the ſame month, early in the morning, a great number of Auſtrian Pandours ſurrounded a little town called Gotliebe, in which a Pruſſian garriſon was quartered, with a deſign to take it by ſurprize. The Pandours attacked it on all ſides, and in the beginning killed twenty-three Pruſſians, and wounded many; but the Pruſſians having rallied, repulſed the aſſailants with great loſs. Theſe, however, were but a ſort of preludes to much more deciſive actions which happened ſoon after. Sileſia, which had hitherto been undiſturbed this year, began now to feel the effects of war. Baron Jahnus, an Auſtrian Colonel, entering that country with only an handful of men, made himſelf maſter of Hirſchberg, Waldenberg, Gotteſburg, Frankenſtein, and Landſhut. They were, indeed, but open places; and he was repulſed in an attempt upon Strigau. On the ſide of Franconia the army of the empire was aſſembling with all ſpeed, under the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghauſen; the French were marching a ſecond

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army from their interior provinces into Alſace, in order to join the Imperialiſts: the firſt diviſion of their troops had already entered the empire, and were advanced as far as Hanau. The Swedes were now preparing, with the utmoſt expedition, to ſend a numerous army into Pomerania; and the Ruſſians, who ſince the taking of Memel, had not done the King of Pruſſia much damage, beſides that of obliging him to keep an army in Pruſſia to oppoſe them, and interrupting the trade of Konigſberg by their ſquadrons, were again advancing with haſty ſtrides towards Pruſſia, marking their ſteps with horrid deſolation. Field-Mareſchal Lehwald, who had been left in Pruſſia, with an army of thirty thouſand men, to guard that kingdom during the abſence of his maſter, was encamped near Velau, when the Ruſſians, to the number of eighty thouſand, after taking Memel, advanced againſt the territories of the Pruſſian King, whoſe ſituation now drew upon him the attention of all Europe. In the night between the ſeventh and eighth of Auguſt, Colonel Malachowſti, one of Mareſchal Lehwald's officers, marched to reconnoitre the poſition of the enemy, when a ſkirmiſh happened, which laſted near two hours, between his advanced ranks and a Ruſſian detachment, three times ſtronger than the Pruſſians. The Ruſſians were repulſed, and fled into the woods, after having fifty men killed, and a great number wounded. The Pruſſians loſt but one man, and had fourteen wounded.

§ XII. Several other little ſkirmiſhes happened between ſtraggling parties of the two armies; and the Ruſſians went on pillaging and laying waſte every thing before them, till at length the two armies having approached one another in Brandenburgh-Pruſſia, Mareſchal Lehwald, finding it impoſſible to ſpare detachments from ſo ſmall a number as his was, compared to that of the enemy, to cover the wretched inhabitants from the outrages committed on them by

by the Ruſſian Coſſacks, and other barbarians belonging to them, judged it abſolutely neceſſary to attack their main army, and accordingly, notwithſtanding his great diſadvantage in almoſt every reſpect, he reſolved to hazard a battle on the thirtieth of Auguſt. The Ruſſians, conſiſting, as we before obſerved, of eighty thouſand regulars, under the command of Mareſchal Apraxin, avoiding the open field, were entrenched in a moſt advantageous camp near Norkitten in Pruſſia. Their army was compoſed of four lines, each of which was guarded by an entrenchment, and the whole was defended by two hundred pieces of cannon, batteries being placed upon all the eminences. Mareſchal Lehwald's army ſcarcely amounting to thirty thouſand men. The action began at five in the morning, and was carried on with ſo much vigour, that the Pruſſians entirely broke the whole firſt line of the enemy, and forced all their batteries. The Prince of Holſtein-Gottorp, brother to the King of Sweden, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, routed the Ruſſian cavalry, and afterwards fell upon a regiment of grenadiers, which was cut to pieces; but when the Pruſſians came to the ſecond entrenchment, Mareſchal Lehwald, ſeeing that he could not attempt to carry it without expoſing his army too much, took the reſolution to retire. The Pruſſians returned to their former camp at Velau, and the Ruſſians remained in their preſent ſituation. The loſs of the Pruſſians little exceeding two thouſand killed and wounded, was immediately replaced out of the diſciplined militia. The Ruſſians loſt a much greater number. General Lapuchin was wounded and taken priſoner, with a Colonel of the Ruſſian artillery; but the former was ſent back on his parole. The Pruſſian army had, at firſt, made themſelves maſters of above eighty pieces of cannon: but were afterwards obliged to abandon them, with eleven of their own, for want of carriages. Three Ruſſian Generals

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BOOK III. 1757. Generals were killed; but the Pruſſians loſt no General or officer of diſtinction, of which rank Count Dohna was the only one that was wounded.

§ XIII. After this engagement, Mareſchal Lehwald changed the poſition of his army, by drawing towards Peterſwald; and the Ruſſians, after remaining quite inactive till the thirteenth of September, on a ſudden, to the great ſurprize of every one, retreated out of Pruſſia with ſuch precipitation, that they left all their ſick and wounded behind them, to the amount of fifteen or ſixteen thouſand men, together with eighty pieces of cannon, and a conſiderable part of their military ſtores. Mareſchal Apraxin maſked his deſign by advancing all his irregulars towards the Pruſſian army; ſo that Mareſchal Lehwald was not informed of it till the third day, when he detached Prince George of Holſtein with ten thouſand horſe to purſue them; but with little hopes of coming up with them, as they made forced marches, in order to be the ſooner in their own country. However, the Pruſſians took ſome of them priſoners, and many ſtragglers were killed by the country people in their flight towards Tilſit, which they abandoned, though they ſtill kept Memel, and ſhortly after added ſome new fortifications to that place. They made their retreat in two columns, one of which directed its courſe towards Memel; while the other took the neareſt way through the bailiwick of Abſternen, and threw bridges over the river Jura. Both columns burnt every village they paſſed through without diſtinction. The Pruſſians were obliged to deſiſt from the purſuit of theſe barbarians, becauſe the bridges, thrown over the river Memel, had been deſtroyed by the violence of the ſtream. The Ruſſian army ſuffered greatly for want of bread, as all the countries were ruined through which it paſſed, ſo that they could procure no ſort of ſubſiſtence but herbage and rye-bread. All the roads were ſtrewed with dead bodies

bodies of men and horſes. The real cauſe of this ſudden retreat is as great a myſtery as the reaſon of ſtopping ſo long, the year before, on the borders of Lithuania; though the occaſion of it is ſaid to have been the illneſs of the Czarina, who was ſeized with a kind of apoplectick fit, and had made ſome new regulations in caſe of a vacancy of the throne, which rendered it expedient that the regular forces ſhould be at hand, to ſupport the meaſures taken by the government. CHAP. VIII. 1757.

§ XIV. The King of Pruſſia, after remaining for ſome time encamped between Bautzen and Goerlitz, removed his head-quarters to Bernſtedel; and on the fifteenth of Auguſt his army came in ſight of the Auſtrian camp, and within cannon ſhot of it: upon which the Auſtrians ſtruck their tents, and drew up in order of battle before their camp. The King formed his army over againſt them, and immediately went to reconnoitre the ground between the armies; but, as it was then late, he deferred the more exact examination of that circumſtance till the next day. The two armies continued under arms all night. Next morning, at break of day, the King found the Auſtrians encamped with their right at the river Weiſſe; the reſt of their army extended along a riſing ground, at the foot of a mountain covered with wood, which protected their left; and before their front, at the bottom of the hill on which they were drawn up, was a ſmall brook, paſſable only in three places, and for no more than four or five men a-breaſt. Towards the left of their army was an opening, where three or four battalions might have marched in front: but behind it they had placed three lines of infantry, and on a hill which flanked this opening, within muſket-ſhot, were placed four thouſand foot, with forty or fifty pieces of cannon; ſo that, in reality, this was the ſtrongeſt part of their camp. The King left nothing undone to bring the Auſtrians to a battle; but

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finding them abſolutely bent on avoiding it, after lying four days before them, he and his army returned to their camp at Bernſtedel. They were followed by ſome of the enemy's huſſars and pandours, who, however, had not the ſatisfaction to take the ſmalleſt booty in this retreat. The Auſtrian army, which thus declined engaging, was, by their own account an hundred and thirty thouſand ſtrong, more than double the number of the King of Pruſſia, who, the day he returned to Bernſtedel, after he had retired about two thouſand yards, again drew up his army in line of battle, and remained ſo upwards of an hour, but not a man ſtirred from the Auſtrian camp. The army of the Empire, commanded by the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghauſen, and that of the French under the Prince de Soubiſe, making together about fifty thouſand men, half of which were French, had by this time joined, and advanced as far as Erfurth in Saxony; upon which his Pruſſian Majeſty, finding that all his endeavours could not bring the Auſtrians to an engagement, ſet out from Luſatia, accompanied by Mareſchal Keith, with ſixteen battalions and forty ſquadrons of his troops, and arrived at Dreſden on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, leaving the reſt of the army in a ſtrong camp, under the Prince of Bevern. With this detachment, which, by the junction of ſeveral bodies of troops, amounted to about forty thouſand men, he made a quick march, by the way of Leipzig towards Erfurth, to give battle to the united army of the French and the Empire. But by the time he arrived at Erfurth, which was on the fourteenth of September, the enemy had retreated towards Gotha; and upon his further approach, they retired to Eyeſenach, where they entrenched themſelves in a very ſtrong camp. His Majeſty's head-quarters were at Kirſchlaben, near Erfurth. While the two armies were thus ſituated, Major-General Seydelitz, who occupied the town of Gotha, being informed,

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on the nineteenth, that a large body of the enemy was coming towards him, and that it consisted of two regiments of Austrian hussars, one regiment of French hussars, and a detachment made up of French grenadiers, troops of the army of the Empire, and a great number of Croats and Pandours, retired, and posted himself at some distance. The enemy immediately took possession of the town and castle; but General Seydelitz, having been reinforced, attacked the enemy with such vigour, that he soon obliged them to abandon this new conquest, and to retire with great precipitation; a report having been spread, that the Prussian army was advancing against them, with the King himself in person. The Prussian hussars took a considerable booty on this occasion, and General Seydelitz sent prisoners to the camp, one Lieutenant-Colonel, three Majors, four Lieutenants, and sixty-two soldiers of the enemy, who had also about an hundred and thirty killed. After this action his Prussian Majesty advanced near Eyesenach, with a design to attack the combined army; but they were so strongly entrenched, that he found it impracticable. His provisions falling short, he was obliged to retire towards Erfurth, and soon after to Naumburgh, on the river Sala; whereupon the combined army marched, and again took possession of Gotha, Erfurth, and Wieman: which last place, however, they soon after quitted.

§ XV. Upon the King of Prussia's leaving Bernstedel, the Austrians took possession of it on the sixth of September, and made prisoners a Prussian battalion which had been left there. The next day fifteen thousand Austrians attacked two battalions of General Winterfield's troops, being part of the Prince of Bevern's army, who were posted on a high ground on the other side of the Neifs, near Hennersdorff, in the neighbourhood of Goerlitz; and, after being repulsed several times, at last made themselves masters of the eminence. The loss, in this action, was

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considerable on both sides, but greatest on that of the Prussians, not so much by the number of their slain, which scarcely exceeded that of the Austrians, as by the death of their brave General Winterfield, who, as he was leading up succours to the battalions that were engaged, received a shot from a cannon, of which he died the night following. The Generals Nadasti and Clerici, Coun d'Arberg, Colonel Elrickhausen, and several other persons of distinction, were wounded, and the young Count of Groesbeck and the Marquis d'Asque killed, on the side of the Austrians, who took six pieces of the Prussian cannon, six pair of their colours, and made General Kemeke, the Count d'Anhalt, and some other officers, prisoners. After this skirmish, the Prince of Bevern, with the Prussian army under his command, retreated from Goerlitz to Rothenberg, then passed the Queiss at Sygersdorff, from whence he marched to Buntlau, in Silesia, and on the first of October, reached Breslau, without suffering any loss, though the numerous army of the Austrians followed him for some days. Upon his arrival there, he chose a very strong camp on the other side of the Oder, in order to cover the city of Breslau, to the fortifications of which he immediately added several new works. Though neither side had any very signal advantage in this engagement, more than that the Austrians remained masters of the field, yet great rejoicings were made at Vienna on account of it. The death of General Winterfield was, indeed, an irreparable loss to his Prussian Majesty, who received at the same time the news of this misfortune, and of the Swedes having now actually begun hostilities in Pomerania.

§ XVI. A body of the French, who, let loose against the King of Prussia, by the ever-memorable and shameful convention of Closter-Seven, had entered the territories of Halberstadt and Magdeburgh, were worsted at Eglen by a party of six hundred

dred men, under the command of Count Horn, whom Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick had detached from a body of troops with which his Pruſſian Majeſty had ſent him to defend thoſe countries. The Pruſſians took priſoners the Count de Luſignan, Colonel, eighteen other French officers, and four hundred ſoldiers, and made themſelves maſters of a conſiderable booty in baggage, &c. with the loſs of only two men; and, moreover, a French officer and forty men were made priſoners at Halberſtadt. Upon this check the French evacuated the country of Halberſtadt for a little while, but returning again on the twenty-ninth of September, with a conſiderable reinforcement from Mareſchal Richelieu's army, which he now could eaſily ſpare, Prince Ferdinand was obliged to retire to Winſleben, near the city of Magdeburgh. The dangers which had been hitherto kept at a diſtance from the Pruſſian dominions, by the ſurpriſing activity of their King, now drew nearer, and menaced them on all ſides. Mareſchal Richelieu, with eighty battalions and an hundred ſquadrons, entered the country of Halberſtadt, and levied immenſe contributions; whilſt the allied army of the French and Imperialiſts, being joined by ſix thouſand men under General Laudohn, who had juſt defeated a regiment of Pruſſian cavalry near Erfurth, marched to Wiſſenfels, a city in the very centre of Thuringia. The Swedes had actually taken ſome towns in Pomerania, and were advancing to beſiege Stetin, and the Auſtrians, who had made themſelves maſters of Lignitz, and a conſiderable part of Sileſia, had now laid ſiege to Schweidnitz, and were preparing to paſs the Oder, in order to attack the Prince of Bevern in his camp near Breſlau. In the mean time they made frequent and always deſtructive incurſions into Brandenburgh; to oppoſe which his Pruſſian Majeſty ordered detachments from all his regiments in thoſe parts to join the militia of the country, and ſent the Prince of Anhalt-Deſſau from

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Leipzig,

BOOK III. 1757. Leipzig, with a body of ten thouſand men, to guard Berlin, whilſt he himſelf marched with the troops under his command to Interbeck, on the frontier of the Lower Luſatia, to be the more at hand to cover Brandenburgh, and preſerve the communication with Sileſia.

§ XVII. While theſe precautions were taking, General Haddick, with fifteen or ſixteen thouſand Auſtrians, entered Brandenburgh on the ſixteenth of October, and the next day arrived before Berlin, of which city he demanded a contribution of ſix hundred thouſand crowns; but contented himſelf with two hundred and ten thouſand. The Auſtrians pillaged two of the ſuburbs; but before they could do any further miſchief, they were obliged to retire in great haſte, at the approach of the Prince of Anhalt-Deſſau, whoſe vanguard entered the city in the evening of their departure. This alarm, however, obliged the Queen and the royal family of Pruſſia to remove to Magdeburgh on the twenty-third; and the moſt valuable records were ſent to the fort of Spandau, at the conflux of the Havel and the Sphre. On the other hand, the unfortunate inhabitants of Leipzig now felt moſt ſeverely the cruel effects of the power of their new maſter. The Pruſſian Commandant in that city had, by order of the King, demanded of them three hundred thouſand crowns, a ſum far greater than it was in their power to raiſe. This truth they repreſented, but in vain. The ſhort time allowed them to furniſh their contingents being expired, and all their efforts to comply with this demand having proved ineffectual, they were ſubjected to the rigours of military execution; in conſequence of which their houſes were occupied by the ſoldiery, who ſeized upon the beſt apartments, and lived at diſcretion; but the ſum demanded could not be found. Such was the ſituation of this diſtreſſed city, when, on the fifteenth of October, an expreſs arrived, with advice

advice that his Pruſſian Majeſty would ſoon be there; and accordingly he arrived a few minutes after, attended by his life-guards. At the ſame time, a rumour was ſpread that the city would be delivered up to pillage, which threw the inhabitants into the utmoſt conſternation. Their fears, however, in that reſpect were ſoon abated, by his Majeſty's declaring, that he was willing to ſpare the place, upon condition that half the ſum required ſhould be immediately paid. All that could be done was to collect among the merchants, traders, and others, fifty thouſand crowns; bills of exchange were drawn upon Amſterdam and London for ſeventy thouſand crowns, and hoſtages were given, by way of ſecurity, for the payment of thirty thouſand more within a time which was agreed on. But ſtill, notwithſtanding this, the military execution was continued, even with greater rigour than before, and all the comfort the wretched inhabitants could obtain was, that it ſhould ceaſe whenever advice ſhould be received that their bills were accepted. CHAP. VIII. 1757.

§ XVIII. The King of Pruſſia had tried ſeveral times to bring the combined army under the Princes Saxe-Hilburghauſen and Soubiſe to an engagement upon fair ground; but finding them bent on declining it, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of their numbers, he had recourſe to one of thoſe ſtrokes in war, by which a General is better ſeen than by the gaining of a victory. He made a feint, ſoon after the beginning of October, as if he intended nothing more than to ſecure his own dominions, and march his army into winter-quarters back to Berlin, leaving Mareſchal Keith, with only ſeven or eight thouſand men, to defend Leipzig. Upon this the enemy took courage, paſſed the Sala, and having marched up to the city, ſummoned the Mareſchal to ſurrender; to which he anſwered, That the King, his maſter, had ordered him to defend the place to the laſt extremity, and he would obey his orders. The

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enemy then thought of beſieging the city: but, before they could prepare any one implement for that purpoſe, they were alarmed by the approach of the King of Pruſſia, who, judging that his feint would probably induce them to take the ſtep they did, had, by previous and private orders, collected together all his diſtant detachments, ſome of which were twenty leagues aſunder, and was advancing, by long marches, to Leipzig; upon notice of which the enemy repaſſed the Sala. The Pruſſian army was re-aſſembled on the twenty-ſeventh of October, and remained at Leipzig the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth, when every body expected a battle would be fought in the plains of Lutzen. On the thirtieth, the King drew nigh that place, and on the thirty-firſt, in his way through Weiſſenfels and Mereſbourg, he made five hundred men priſoners of war. The combined army had repaſſed the Sala at Weiſſenfels, Mereſbourg, and Halle, where they broke down the bridges; but theſe were ſoon repaired, and the whole Pruſſian army, amounting to no more than twenty thouſand men, having paſſed that river, through theſe towns, in each of which they left a battalion, joined again on the third of November, in the evening, over-againſt the enemy, whoſe forces conſiſted of forty thouſand French, and twenty-five thouſand Imperialiſts. On the fifth, about nine o'clock in the morning, the Pruſſians received intelligence that the enemy were every where in motion. They likewiſe heard the drums beating the march, and, ſo near were the two armies to each other, plainly perceived from their camp, that their whole infantry, which had drawn nearer upon the riſing grounds over againſt them, was filing off towards their right. No certain judgement could, however, yet be formed of the enemy's real deſign, and as they were in want of bread, it was thought probable that they intended to repaſs the Unſtrut; but it was ſoon perceived that their

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ſeveral motions were contradictory to each other. At the ſame time that ſome of their infantry were filing off towards their right, a large body of cavalry wheeled round towards their left; directing its march all along to the riſing grounds with which the whole Pruſſian camp, that lay in a bottom between the villages of Rederow and Roſbach, was ſurrounded within the reach of large cannon. Soon after that, the cavalry were ſeen to halt, and afterward to fall back to the right; though ſome of them ſtill remained where they were, whilſt the reſt marched back. About two in the afternoon the doubts of the Pruſſians were cleared up; it plainly appearing then that the enemy intended to attack them, and that their diſpoſitions were made with a view to ſurround them, and to open the action by attacking them in the rear. A body of reſerve was poſted over againſt Rederow, to fall upon their routed troops, in caſe they ſhould be defeated, and to prevent their retiring to Mereſbourg, the only retreat which could then have been left them. In this ſituation the King of Pruſſia reſolved to attack them. His Majeſty had determined to make the attack with one wing only, and the diſpoſition of the enemy made it neceſſary that it ſhould be the left wing. The very inſtant the battle was going to begin, his Majeſty ordered the General who commanded the right wing to decline engaging, to take a proper poſition in conſequence thereof, and, above all, to prevent his being ſurrounded. All the cavalry of the right wing of the Pruſſians, except two or three ſquadrons, had already marched to the left at full gallop; and being arrived at the place aſſigned them, they formed over againſt that of the enemy. They then moved on immediately, the enemy's advanced to meet them, and the charge was very fierce, ſeveral regiments of the French coming on with great reſolution. The advantage, however, was entirely on the ſide of the Pruſſians. The

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enemy's cavalry being routed, were purſued for a conſiderable time with great ſpirit, but having afterwards reached an eminence, which gave them an opportunity of rallying, the Pruſſian cavalry fell upon them afreſh, and gave them ſo total a defeat, that they fled in the utmoſt diſorder. This happened at four in the afternoon. Whilſt the cavalry of the Pruſſians charged, their infantry opened. The enemy cannonaded them briſkly during this interval, and did ſome execution, but the Pruſſian artillery was not idle. After this cannonading had continued on both ſides a full quarter of an hour, without the leaſt intermiſſion, the fire of the infantry began. The enemy could not ſtand it, nor reſiſt the valour of the Pruſſian foot, who gallantly marched up to their batteries. The batteries were carried one after another, and the enemy were forced to give way, which they did in great confuſion. As the left wing of the Pruſſians advanced, the right changed its poſition, and having ſoon met with a ſmall riſing ground, they availed themſelves of it, by planting it with ſixteen pieces of heavy artillery. The fire from thence was partly pointed at the enemy's right, to increaſe the diſorder there, and took their left wing in front, which was exceſſively galled thereby. At five the victory was decided, the cannonading ceaſed, and the enemy fled on all ſides. They were purſued as long as there was any light to diſtinguiſh them, and it may be ſaid, that night alone was the preſervation of this army, which had been ſo formidable in the morning. They took the benefit of the darkneſs to hurry into Fryburgh, and there to repaſs the Unſtrut, which they did on the morning of the ſixth, after a whole night's march. The King of Pruſſia ſet out early in the morning to purſue them with all his cavalry, ſupported by four battalions of grenadiers, the infantry following them in two columns. The enemy had paſſed the Unſtrut at Fryburgh, when the Pruſſians arrived

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on its banks, and as they had burnt the bridge, it became neceſſary to make another, which, however, was ſoon done. The cavalry paſſed firſt, but could not come up with the enemy till five in the evening, upon the hills of Eckerſberg. It was then too late to force them there, for which reaſon the King thought proper to canton his army in the neareſt villages, and to be ſatisfied with the ſucceſs his huſſars had in taking near three hundred baggage waggons, and every thing they contained. The whole loſs of the Pruſſians, in this important engagement, did not exceed five hundred men killed and wounded. Among the former was General Meincke, and among the latter Prince Henry and General Seydelitz. The enemy loſt ſixty-four pieces of cannon, a great many ſtandards and colours, near three thouſand men killed on the field of battle, and upwards of eight thouſand taken priſoners, among whom were ſeveral Generals, and other officers of diſtinction. Three hundred waggons were ſent to Leipzig, laden with wounded French and Swiſs. Upon the approach of the Pruſſians towards Eckerſberg, the enemy retreated with great precipitation; and, after marching all night, arrived the next day at Erfurth, in the utmoſt want of every neceſſary of life, not having had a morſel of bread for two days, during which they had been obliged to live upon turneps, radiſhes, and other roots, which they dug out of the earth. The French, under the Duke de Richelieu, were preparing to go into winter-quarters; but, upon the news of this defeat of the combined army, they again put themſelves in motion, and a large detachment of them advanced as far as Duderſtadt, to favour the retreat of their countrymen under the Prince de Soubiſe, who, with great precipitancy, made the beſt of their way from Erfurth to the county of Hohenſtein, and from thence bent their march towards Halberſtadt. Of the remains of the Imperial army, which was now almoſt

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1757. § XIX. Whilſt his Pruſſian Majeſty was thus ſucceſsful againſt the French and Imperialiſts, the Auſtrians, who had carefully avoided coming to an open engagement with him, gained ground a pace in Sileſia. A detachment of their army, under the command of Count Nadaſti, had already inveſted Schweidnitz, and opened the trenches before it on the twenty-ſixth of October. The Pruſſian garriſon commanded by General de la Motte Fouquet, determined to defend the place as long as poſſible; and accordingly on the thirtieth they made a ſally, in which they killed, wounded, and took priſoners, eight hundred of the beſiegers, and did ſome damage to their works; but on the ſixth of November the Auſtrians began to cannonade the city furiouſly, and on the eleventh made themſelves maſters of the ramparts by aſſault. The garriſon, however, having taken care, during the ſiege, to throw up a ſtrong entrenchment in the market-place, retreated thither, and held out till the next day, when they ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. After the reduction of this place, General Nadaſti, leaving in it a ſufficient garriſon, marched with the remainder of his troops, and joined the main army of the Auſtrians, under the command of Prince Charles of Lorraine and Mareſchal Daun, who, whilſt he was buſied in the ſiege of Schweidnitz, had inveſted Breſlau on the left of the Oder; the Prince of Bevern defending it on the right, where he was ſtrongly encamped, with his little army, under the cannon of the city. The whole army of the Auſtrians being now re-aſſembled, and intelligence having been brought, not only of the King of Pruſſia's late victory near Leipzig, but alſo that he was advancing to the relief of the Prince of Bevern, it was reſolved immediately to attack the laſt in his entrenchments. Accordingly, on the twenty-ſecond of November, about nine in the

the morning, the Auſtrians began a moſt furious diſcharge of their cannon, forty of which were twenty-four pounders, and this continued without ceaſing till one, when it was ſucceeded by a ſevere fire of their ſmall arms, which laſted till five in the evening. The Pruſſians, with undaunted reſolution, ſtood two of the moſt violent attacks that were ever made; but at the third, overpowered by numbers, and aſſailed on both ſides, they began to loſe ground, and were forced to retire from one intrenchment to another. In this extremity, night coming on, the Pruſſian Generals fearing their entrenchments would be entirely forced, and that they ſhould then be totally defeated, thought proper to retreat. The Prince of Bevern, with the greateſt part of the army, retired to an eminence on the banks of the Oder, whilſt the reſt of the troops threw themſelves into Breſlau, which they might have defended, in all probability, till the King had come to its relief. But, on the twenty-fourth, their Commander in chief, the Prince of Bevern, going to reconnoitre the enemy, with only a ſingle groom to attend him, fell in among a party of Croats, who took him priſoner *. His army thus deprived of their General, retreated northward that night, leaving in Breſlau only four battalions, who, the next day, ſurrendered the place by capitulation, one of the articles of which

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* We are told, that he miſtook theſe Croats for Pruſſian huſſars. But ſome of the circumſtances of this myſterious affair were interpreted into a premeditated deſign in the Prince to be taken priſoner. It cannot otherwiſe be ſuppoſed that a man of his rank, a Prince, a Commander in chief, ſhould officiouſly undertake the always dangerous taſk of reconnoitring the enemy, with ſo ſlight an attendance as only one man, and that but a groom, even if he had judged it neceſſary to ſee things with his own eyes. Some ſecret diſſatisfaction, hitherto unknown to us, may poſſibly have been the cauſe of his taking this ſtep; or, which ſeems ſtill more probable, he might be aſhamed, or, perhaps, even afraid, to ſee the King his maſter, after having ſo injudiciouſly abandoned the defence of Breſlau, by quitting his lines, which it is aſſerted, his Pruſſian Majeſty had ſent him expreſs orders not to quit on any account whatever, for that he would certainly be with him by the fifth of December, in which we ſhall find he kept his word.

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was, that they ſhould not ſerve againſt the Empreſs, or her allies, for two years. All the magazines cheſts, artillery, &c. remained in the hands of the Auſtrians. The garriſon marched out with all military honours, conducted by General Leſwitz, Governor of Breſlau. Though the Auſtrians ſung *Te Deum* for this victory, they owned that ſuch another would put an end to their army, for it coſt them the lives of twelve thouſand men; a number almoſt equal to the whole of the Pruſſian army before the battle. They had four almoſt inacceſſible entrenchments to force, planted thick with cannon, which fired cartridge-ſhot from nine in the morning till the evening, and the Pruſſians, when attacked, were never once put into the leaſt confuſion. Among the ſlain on the ſide of the Auſtrians, were General Wurben, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. The loſs of the Pruſſians did not much exceed three thouſand men, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, of which laſt there were about ſixteen hundred. Their General Kleiſt was found dead on the field of battle.

§ XX. The King of Pruſſia, who, like Cæſar, thought nothing was done while any thing was left undone, ſtayed no longer at Roſbach than till the routed forces of the French and Imperialiſts, whom he had defeated there on the fifth of November, were totally diſperſed. Then he marched directly with the greateſt part of his army for Sileſia, and on the twenty-fourth of that month arrived at Naumburg on the Queiſs, a little river which runs into the Bobber, having in his route detached Mareſchal Keith, with the reſt of his army, to clear Saxony from all the Auſtrian parties, and then to make an irruption into Bohemia, a ſervice which he performed ſo effectually, as to raiſe large contributions in the circles of Satz and Leitmeritz, and even to give an alarm to Prague itſelf. His Majeſty reſerved for himſelf only fifteen thouſand men,

with whom he advanced, with his uſual rapidity, to Barchwitz, where, notwithſtanding all that had happened at Schweidnitz and at Breſlau, he was joined by twenty-four thouſand more; part of them troops which he had ordered from Saxony, part the remains of the army lately commanded by the Prince of Bevern, and part the late garriſon of Schweidnitz, which had found means to eſcape from the Auſtrians, and accidentally joined their King upon his march*. With this force, though greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy, he reſolved to attack the Auſtrians, who were entrenched at Liſſa, near Breſlau. On the fourth of December he ſeized upon their ovens at Neumarck, and upon a conſiderable magazine; guarded by two regiments of Croats, who retired to a riſing ground, where his Majeſty ordered his huſſars to ſurround them, and ſend a trumpet to ſummon them to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. Upon their refuſal, the huſſars of Ziethen fell upon them ſabre in hand, and ſome hundreds of them having been cut in pieces, the reſt threw down their arms, begging for quarter on their knees. After this ſeizure, and after having diſtributed to his army the bread prepared for his enemies, he began again the next morning his march towards Liſſa. General Ziethen, who led the vanguard of light-horſe, about ſeven in the morning fell in with a body of Auſtrian huſſars, and three

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* Whilſt the Auſtrians were conducting them to priſon, on their route they chanced to hear of the victory their maſter had gained at Roſbach. Animated by theſe tidings, they unanimouſly roſe upon the eſcort that guarded them, which happening not to be very ſtrong, they entirely diſperſed. Thus freed, they marched on, not very certain of their way, in hopes to rejoin ſome corps of the Pruſſian troops, their countrymen. The ſame fortune which freed them led them directly to the army commanded by the King himſelf, which was haſtening to their relief, as well as to that of the Prince of Bevern. This unexpected meeting was equally pleaſing to both, the priſoners not having heard any thing of his Majeſty's march; and at the ſame time, this lucky incident, whilſt it added a conſiderable ſtrength to the army, added likewiſe to its confidence, for the ſlighteſt occurrence is conſtrued into an omen by an army at the eve of an engagement.

regiments

BOOK III. 1757. regiments of Saxon dragoons, which were the very beſt cavalry the enemy had left after the battle of the twenty-ſecond. They had been detached by the Auſtrians, in order to retard the King's march, and to conceal their own, till their batteries ſhould be completed; for, as they held the ſmall number of the Pruſſians in contempt, their intention was to have met the King two German miles from their entrenchments. The Auſtrian cavalry having been vigorouſly repulſed to a conſiderable diſtance, General Ziethen perceived that their whole army was forming. He immediately acquainted the King with what he had diſcovered, and his Majeſty after having himſelf obſerved the diſpoſition of the enemy, made his own with that ſagacity and diſpatch for which he has always been remarkable. The action began by attacking a battery of forty pieces of large cannon, which covered the right wing of the enemy. The two battalions of guards, with the regiments of the Margrave Charles and of Itzenplitz, marched up, amidſt a moſt terrible fire, to the very mouths of the cannon, with their bayonets ſcrewed. In this attack the Pruſſians ſuſtained their greateſt loſs, though the battery was carried as ſoon almoſt as they could reach it: then the enemy's artillery, now turned againſt themſelves, played furiouſly upon them with their own powder. From that inſtant the two wings and the centre of the Pruſſians continued to drive the enemy before them, advancing all the time with that firm and regular pace for which they have always been renowned, without ever halting or giving way. The ground which the Auſtrians occupied was very advantageous, and every circumſtance that could render it more ſo had been improved to the utmoſt by the diligence and ſkill of Count Daun, who, remembering his former ſucceſs, was emboldened to enter the liſts again with his royal antagoniſt. The Pruſſians, however, no way terrified by the enemy's

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ſituation, nor their numbers, went calmly and dreadfully forward. It was almoſt impoſſible, in the beginning, for the Pruſſian cavalry to act, on account of the impediments of fallen trees, which the enemy had cut down and laid in the field of battle, to retard their approach; but a judicious diſpoſition which the King made overcame that diſadvantage. When he firſt formed his army, he had place four battalions behind the cavalry of his right wing, foreſeeing that General Nadaſti, who was placed with a corps of reſerve on the enemy's left, deſigned to take him in flank. It happened as he had foreſeen, this General's horſe attacked the King's right wing with great fury; but he was received with ſo ſevere a fire from the four battalions, that he was obliged to retire in diſorder. The enemy gave way on all ſides; but at ſome diſtance recovered themſelves, and rallied three times, animated by their officers, and by the ſuperiority of their numbers. Every time they made a ſtand, the Pruſſians attacked them with redoubled vigour, and with ſucceſs equal to their bravery. Towards night, the enemy, ſtill retreating, fell into diſorder. Their two wings fled in confuſion; one of them, cloſely preſſed by the King, retired towards Breſlau, and took ſhelter under the cannon of that city; the other, purſued by the greateſt part of the light cavalry, took their flight towards Canth and Schweidnitz. Six thouſand Auſtrians fell in this engagement, and the Pruſſians, who had only five hundred men killed, and two thouſand three hundred wounded, made upwards of ten thouſand of the enemy priſoners, among whom were two hundred and ninety-one officers. They took alſo an hundred and ſixteen cannon, fifty-one colours and ſtandards, and four thouſand waggons of ammunition and baggage. The conſequences that followed this victory declared its importance. Future ages will read with aſtoniſhment, that the ſame Prince, who but a few months before ſeemed

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on the verge of inevitable ruin, merely by the dint of his own abilities, without the aſſiſtance of any friend whatever, with troops perpetually haraſſed by long and painful marches, and by continual ſkirmiſhes and battles, not only retrieved his affairs, which almoſt every one, except himſelf, thought paſt redreſs; but, in the midſt of winter, in countries where it was judged next to impoſſible for any troops to keep the field at that ſeaſon, conquered the united force of France and the Empire of Roſbach, on the fifth of November; and on the ſame day of the very next month, with a great part of the ſame army, was at Liſſa, where he again triumphed over all the power of the Houſe of Auſtria. Purſuing his advantage, he immediately inveſted Breſlau, and within two days after this great victory every thing was in readineſs to beſiege it in form. His troops, flushed with ſucceſs, were at firſt for ſtorming it, but the King, knowing the ſtrength of the garriſon, which conſiſted of upwards of thirteen thouſand men, and conſidering both the fatigues which his own ſoldiers had lately undergone, and the fatal conſequences that might enſue, ſhould they fail of ſucceſs in this attempt, ordered the approaches to be carried on in the uſual form. His commands were obeyed, and Breſlau ſurrendered to him on the twentieth of December in the morning. The garriſon, of which ten thouſand bore arms, and between three and four thouſand lay ſick or wounded, were made priſoners of war. Fourteen of theſe priſoners were officers of high rank. The military cheſt, a vaſt treaſure, with eighty pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors, who loſt only about twenty men in their approaches. During the ſiege, a magazine of powder was ſet on fire by a bomb, which occaſioned great confuſion among the beſieged, and damaged one of the baſtions. The ſtrong fortreſs of Schweidnitz ſtill remained in the enemy's poſſeſſion, defended by a garriſon ſo numerous, that it might be compared

to

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to a ſmall army, and whilſt that continued ſo, the King of Pruſſia's victories in Sileſia were of no deciſive effect. For this reaſon, though it was now the dead of winter, and the ſoldiers ſtood in need of repoſe, his Majeſty reſolved, if poſſible, to become maſter of that place before the end of the year; but as a cloſe ſiege was impracticable, a blockade was formed, as ſtrictly as the rigour of the ſeaſon would permit*. It was not, however, till the beginning of the enſuing campaign that this place was taken. The Pruſſians opened their trenches before it on the third of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-eight, and erected two large batteries, which kept a continual fire upon the town. The artillery of the beſiegers conſiſted of three hundred pieces of cannon, of different dimenſions, and eighty mortars; an amazing artillery, and ſuch as we have never heard of in former campaigns. On the night of the fourteenth, the Pruſſians carried one of the chief works by aſſault, and lodged themſelves therein: the Commandant capitulated the next day, with the garriſon, which was now greatly reduced in number, being not half of what it amounted to at the beginning of the blockade. Thus, all the parts of Sileſia, which the King of Pruſſia had loſt by one unfortunate blow, fell again into his poſſeſſion; and his affairs, which but a few months before ſeemed irretrievable, were now re-eſtabliſhed upon a firmer baſis than ever. The Pruſſian parties not only re-poſſeſſed themſelves of thoſe parts of Sileſia which belonged to their King, but penetrated into the Auſtrian diviſion, reduced Jagerndorf, Troppau, Tretchen, and ſeveral other places, and left the Empreſs-Queen ſcarce any footing

* Such was the rigour of the ſeaſon, that ſome hundreds of the ſentinels dropped down dead on their ſeveral poſts, unable to ſuſtain the ſeverity of the cold. The Germans lie under the general reproach of paying very little regard to the lives of their ſoldiers, and indeed this practice of winter campaigns, in ſuch a cold country, beſpeaks very little regard to the dictates of humanity.

BOOK III. ing in that country, in which, a few days before, ſhe reckoned her dominion perfectly eſtabliſhed.

1757. §XXI. The Swedes, after many debates between their King and Senate, had at length reſolved upon an open declaration againſt the King of Pruſſia, and, in conſequence of that reſolution, ſent ſo many troops into Pomerania, that by the end of Auguſt, their army in that country amounted to twenty-five thouſand men. Their firſt act of hoſtility was the ſeizure of Anclam and Demmin, two towns that lay in the way to Stetin, againſt which their principal deſign was levelled. But before they proceeded farther, General Hamilton, their Commander, by way of juſtifying the conduct of his maſter, publiſhed a declaration, ſetting forth, "That the King of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, could not help ſending his troops into the upper part of the duchy of Pomerania belonging to the King of Pruſſia; and that, therefore, all the officers appointed to receive the publick revenue in that country muſt pay what money they had in their hands to him, who was commiſſioned to receive it for his Swediſh Majeſty: that, moreover, an exact account was required, within eight days, of the revenues of the country; but that no more than ordinary contributions would be demanded of the inhabitants, who might reſt aſſured that the Swediſh troops ſhould obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline." After this declaration, they attacked the little fortreſs of Penemunde, upon the river Pene, and on the twenty-third of September, after a ſiege of nine days, obliged the garriſon, which conſiſted only of militia, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. This alternative the commanding officer choſe, rather than engage not to ſerve for two years, obſerving, that ſuch an engagement was inconſiſtent with his honour, whilſt his Prince had ſo much occaſion for his ſervice; and the Swediſh General, touched with this noble way of thinking, was, on his part, ſo generous

rous as to give him his liberty. On the other hand, General Manteuffel, who commanded the Pruſſian forces then in Pomerania, amounting to twelve thouſand men, with whom he was encamped before Stetin, to cover that place, publiſhed in anſwer to this a declaration, enjoining the inhabitants of Pomerania to remain faithful to the King of Pruſſia, their lawful Sovereign, under pain of incurring his juſt indignation, and abſolutely forbidding them to pay any regard to the Swediſh manifeſto. CHAP. VIII. 1757.

§ XXII. In the mean time, Mareſchal Lehwald, immediately after the battle of Norkitten, when the Ruſſians began their retreat, detached Prince George of Holſtein-Gottorp, with a conſiderable body of forces, to the relief of Pomerania; and, ſhortly after, the Ruſſian forces having totally evacuated every part of Pruſſia, except Memel, and moſt of them being actually gone into winter-quarters, he himſelf followed with an additional reinforcement of ſixteen thouſand men. Upon his approach, the Swedes, who were then encamped at Ferdinandſhoff, and had begun to fill up the harbour of Swinnemunde, by way of previous preparation for the ſiege of Stetin, retired with ſuch precipitation, that they did not allow themſelves time to draw off a little garriſon they had at Wollin, conſiſting of two hundred and ten men, who were made priſoners of war. Demmin was cannonaded by the Pruſſians on the twenty-ninth of December; and the Swedes having loſt one officer and forty men, deſired to capitulate. As, in order to eaſe the troops, it was not thought proper to continue the ſiege in ſo ſharp a ſeaſon, their requeſt was granted, and they had leave to retire with two pieces of cannon. The Pruſſians took poſſeſſion of the town on the ſecond day of January, after the Swedes had, on the thirtieth of December, likewiſe given up Anclam, where the conquerors took an hundred and fifty priſoners, and found a conſiderable magazine of proviſions and ammunition. Mareſchal Lehwald

BOOK III. 1757. Lehwald then paſſed the Pene, entered Swediſh Pomerania, and reduced Gutzkow, Loitz, Tripſus, and Nebringen. At the ſame time, Lieutenant-General Schorlemmer paſſed with his corps from the iſle of Wollin into the iſle of Uſedom, and from thence to Wolgaſt, the Swedes having abandoned this town, as well as Schwinemunde, and the fort of Penemunde. The Prince of Holſtein advanced as far as Grimm and Grieffswalde, and the Swedes, loſing one town after another, till they had nothing left in Pomerania but the port of Stralſund, continued retreating till they had reached this laſt place. The French party in Sweden, to comfort the people, called this retreat, or rather flight, going into winter-quarters. The Pruſſian huſſars were not idle wherever they penetrated; for, beſides plundering and pillaging, they raiſed a contribution of an hundred and ſixty thouſand crowns in Swediſh Pomerania. The Mecklenburghers, who had joined the Swedes with ſix thouſand of their troops, now found cauſe to repent of their forwardneſs; being left quite expoſed to the reſentment of the victors, who chaſtiſed them with the moſt ſevere exactions. The army of the Swedes, though they did not fight a battle, was, by ſickneſs, deſertion, and other accidents, reduced to half the number it conſiſted of when they took the field. The Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, ſoon after his territories were invaded by the French, in conſequence of their advantage in the affair of Haſtenbeck, had applied to the King of Sweden, as one of the guarantees of the treaty of Weſtphalia, deſiring him to employ his good offices with the Court of France, to obtain a more favourable treatment for his dominions: but his Swediſh Majeſty, by the advice of the Senate, thought proper to refuſe complying with this requeſt, alledging, that as the crown of Sweden was one of the principal guarantees of the treaty of Weſtphalia, it would be highly improper to take ſuch a ſtep, in favour of a Prince who had

had not only broke the laws and conſtitutions of the Empire, in refuſing to furniſh his contingent, but had even aſſiſted, with his troops, a power known to be its declared enemy. The Aulick council too, ſeeing, or pretending to ſee, the behaviour of the Landgrave in the ſame light, iſſued a decree againſt his Serene Highneſs towards the end of this year. CHAP. VIII. 1757.

§ XXIII. The Court of Great-Britain, juſtly diſpleaſed with the Dutch, on account of the extreme facility with which they had granted the French a free paſſage through Namur and Maeſtricht for their proviſions, ammunition, and artillery, in the beginning of this campaign, had very properly remonſtrated againſt that ſtep, before it was abſolutely reſolved on, or at leaſt declared to be ſo; but in vain: a puſillanimous anſwer being all the ſatisfaction that was obtained. The tameneſs and indifference with which the States-General had ſince ſeen Oſtend and Nieuport put into the hands of the French, drew upon their High Mightineſſes a further remonſtrance, which was delivered to them on the twenty-eight of November of this year by Colonel Yorke, his Britannick Majeſty's Plenipotentiary at the Hague, in the following terms, well calculated to awaken in them a due ſenſe of their own danger, as well as to evince the injuſtice of the proceedings of the Houſe of Auſtria:—"Conſidering the critical ſituation which Europe has been in during the courſe of this year, in conſequence of meaſures concerted to embroil all Europe, the King of Great-Britain was willing to flatter himſelf that the Courts of Vienna and Verſailles, out of regard to the circumſpect conduct obſerved by your High Mightineſſes, would have at leaſt informed you of the changes they have thought proper to make in the Auſtrian Netherlands. It was with the utmoſt ſurprize the King heard, that without any previous conſent of your's, and almoſt without giving you any notice, the Court of Vienna had thought proper to put the towns of Oſtend and

BOOK III. 1759. Nieuport into the hands of the French troops, and to withdraw her own, as well as her artillery and ſtores, whilſt France continues to ſend thither a formidable quantity of both. The conduct of the Court of Vienna towards his Majeſty is indeed ſo unmerited and ſo extraordinary, that it is difficult to find words to expreſs it: but whatever fallacious pretexts ſhe may have made uſe of to palliate her behaviour towards England, it doth not appear that they can be extended ſo far as to excuſe the infringement, in concert with France, of the moſt ſolemn treaties between her and your High Mightineſſes. The King never doubted that your High Mightineſſes would have made proper repreſentations to the two Courts newly allied, to demonſtrate the injuſtice of ſuch a proceeding, and the danger that might afterwards reſult from it. Your High Mightineſſes will have perceived that your ſilence on the firſt ſtep encouraged the two Courts, newly allied, to attempt others; and who can ſay where they will ſtop? The pretext at firſt was, the need which the Empreſs-Queen ſtood in of the troops for the war kindled in the Empire, and the neceſſity of providing for the ſafety of thoſe important places, and afterwards of their imaginary danger from England. But, High and Mighty Lords, it is but too evident that the two Powers, who have taken theſe meaſures in concert, have other projects in view, and have made new regulations with regard to that country, which cannot but alarm the neighbouring States. The late demand made to your High Mightineſſes, of a paſſage for a large train of warlike implements through ſome of the barrier towns, in order to be ſent to Oſtend and Nieuport, could not fail to awaken the King's attention. The ſincere friendſhip and parity of intereſts, of Great-Britain and Holland, require that they ſhould no longer keep ſilence, leſt, in the iſſue, it ſhould be conſidered as a tacit conſent, and as a relinquiſhment of all our rights. The King

commands

commands me, therefore, to recal to your High Mightineſſes the two-fold right you have acquired to keep the Auſtrian Netherlands under the government of the Houſe of Auſtria; and that no other has a title to make the leaſt alteration therein, without the conſent of your High Mightineſſes; unleſs the new allies have reſolved to ſet aſide all prior treaties, and to diſpoſe at pleaſure of every thing that may ſuite their private intereſt. In the treaty between your High Mightineſſes and the Crown of France, ſigned at Utrecht on the eleventh of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirteen, in the fifteenth article, are theſe words: 'It is alſo agreed, that no province, fort, town, or city of the ſaid Netherlands, or of thoſe which are given up by his Catholick Majeſty, ſhall ever be ceded, transferred, or given, or ſhall ever devolve to the Crown of France, or any Prince or Princeſs of the Houſe or Line of France, either by virtue of any gift, exchange, marriage-contract, ſucceſſion by will, or by any other title whatever, to the power and authority of the Moſt Chriſtian King, or of any Prince or Princeſs of the Houſe or Line of France.' In the barrier-treaty theſe very ſtipulations are repeated in the firſt article: 'His Imperial and Catholick Majeſty promiſes and engages, that no province, city, town, fortreſs, or territory of the ſaid country, ſhall be ceded, transferred, given, or devolve to the Crown of France, or to any other but the ſucceſſor of the German dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria, either by donation, ſale, exchange, marriage-contract, heritage, teſtamentary ſucceſſion, or under any other pretext whatſoever; ſo that no province, town, fortreſs, or territory of the ſaid Netherlands ſhall ever be ſubject to any other Prince, but to the ſucceſſor of the States of the Houſe of Auſtria, alone, excepting what has been yielded by the preſent treaty to the ſaid Lords the States-General. A bare reading of theſe two articles is ſufficient to evince all that I

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BOOK III. 1737. have juſt repreſented to your High Mightineſſes: and whatever pretext the Courts of Vienna and Verſailles may alledge, to cover the infraction of theſe treaties, the thing remains nevertheleſs evident, whilſt theſe two Courts are unable to prove that the towns of Oſtend and Nieuport are not actually in the power of France. If their deſigns are juſt, or agreeable to thoſe treaties, they will doubtleſs not ſcruple, in the leaſt, to make your High Mightineſſes eaſy on that head, by openly explaining themſelves to a quiet and pacifick neighbour, and by giving you indiſputable proofs of their intentions to fulfil the ſtipulations of the ſaid two treaties, with regard to the Netherlands. The King hath ſo much confidence in the good ſenſe, prudence, and friendſhip of your High Mightineſſes, that he makes not the leaſt doubt of your taking the moſt efficacious meaſures to clear up an affair of ſuch importance; and of your being pleaſed, in concert with his Majeſty, to watch over the fate of a country, whoſe ſituation and independence have, for more than a century, been regarded as one of the principal ſupports of your liberty and commerce." It does not appear that this remonſtrance had the deſired effect upon the States-General, who were apprehenſive of embroiling themſelves with an enemy ſo remarkably alert in taking all advantages. The truth is, they were not only unprepared for a rupture with France, but extremely unwilling to forego the commercial profits which they derived from their neutrality.

§ XXIV. The King of Pruſſia, about this period, began to harbour a ſuſpicion that certain other Powers longed eagerly to enjoy the ſame reſpite from the dangers and inconveniencies of war, and that he ran the riſque of being abandoned by his ſole patron and ally, who ſeemed greatly alarmed at his defeat in Bohemia, and deſirous of detaching himſelf from a connection which might be productive of the moſt diſagreeable

disagreeable consequences to his continental interest. Stimulated by this opinion, his Prussian Majesty is said to have written an expostulatory letter* to the King of Great Britain, in which he very plainly taxes that Monarch with having instigated him to commence hostilities; and insists upon his remembering the engagements by which he was so solemnly bound. From the strain of this letter, and the Prussian's declaration to the British minister when he first set out for Saxony, importing, that he was going to fight the King of England's battles, a notion was generally conceived that those two Powers had agreed to certain private pacta or conventions, the particulars of which have not yet transpired. Certain it is, a declaration was delivered to the Prussian Resident at London, which appears to have been calculated as an answer to the letter. In that paper the King of Great-Britain declared, that the overtures made by his Majesty's electoral ministers in Germany, touching the checks received on the continent, should have no influence on his Majesty as King: that he saw, in the same light as before, the pernicious effects of the union between the Courts of Vienna and Versailles, threatening a subversion of the whole system of publick liberty, and of the independence of the European Powers: that he considered as a fatal consequence of this dangerous connection the cession

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* The letter, which was written in French, we have translated, for the reader's satisfaction.

"I am informed that the design of a treaty of neutrality for the electorate of Hanover is not yet laid aside. Is it possible that your Majesty can have so little fortitude and constancy, as to be dispirited by a small reverse of fortune? Are affairs so ruinous that they cannot be repaired? I hope your Majesty will consider the step you have made me hazard, and remember that you are the sole cause of these misfortunes that now impend over my head. I should never have abandoned the alliance of France, but for your flattering assurances. I do not now repent of the treaty I have concluded with your Majesty; but I expect you will not ingloriously leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the force of Europe. I depend upon your adhering to your repeated engagements of the twenty-sixth of last month, and that you will listen to no treaty in which I am not comprehended."

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made by the Court of Vienna of the ports in the Netherlands to France, in ſuch a critical ſituation, and contrary to the faith of the moſt ſolemn treaties; that, whatever might be the ſucceſs of his arms, his Majeſty was determined to act in conſtant concert with the King of Pruſſia, in employing the moſt efficacious means to fruſtrate the unjuſt and oppreſſive deſigns of their common enemies. He concluded with aſſuring the King of Pruſſia, that the Britiſh Crown would continue to fulfil, with the greateſt punctuality, its engagements with his Pruſſian Majeſty, and to ſupport him with firmneſs and vigour. Such a repreſentation could not fail of being agreeable to a Prince, who, at this juncture, ſtood in need of an extraordinary cordial. He knew he could ſecurely depend, not only on the good faith of an Engliſh miniſtry, but alſo on the good plight of the Britiſh nation, which, like an indulgent nurſe, hath always preſented the nipple to her meagre German allies. Thoſe, however, who pretended to conſider and canvas events without prejudice and prepoſſeſſion, could not help owning their ſurprize, at hearing an alliance ſtigmatized as pernicious to the ſyſtem of publick liberty, and ſubverſive of the independence of the European Powers, as they remembered that this alliance was the effect of neceſſity, to which the Houſe of Auſtria was reduced, for its own preſervation; reduced, as its friends and partiſans affirm, by thoſe very Potentates that now reproached her with theſe connections.

§ XXV. His Britannick Majeſty was reſolved that the King of Pruſſia ſhould have no cauſe to complain of his indifference, whatever reaſons he had to exclaim againſt the convention of Cloſter-Seven, which he did not ſcruple to condemn as a very ſcandalous capitulation, as much as he diſapproved of the conduct; in conſequence of which near forty thouſand men were ſo ſhamefully diſarmed, and loſt to his cauſe. Thoſe ſtipulations alſo met with

a very unfavourable reception in England, where the motions of the allied army, in their retreat before the enemy, were very freely cenſured, and ſome great names expoſed to the ridicule and contempt of the publick. This event, ſo ſingular in itſelf, and ſo important in its conſequences, attracted the attention of the Privy-council, where it is ſaid to have been canvaſſed with great warmth and animoſity of altercation. The General complained that he was reſtricted by peremptory orders from the Regency of Hanover; and they were reported to have uſed recriminations in their defence. In all probability, every circumſtance of the diſpute was not explained to the ſatisfaction of all parties, inaſmuch as that great Commander quitted the harveſt of military glory, and like another Cincinnatus, retired to his plough. The Convention of Cloſter-Seven was equally diſagreeable to the Courts of London and Verſailles. The former ſaw the electorate of Hanover deſt, by this capitulation, at the mercy of the enemy, who had taken poſſeſſion of the whole country, ſeized the revenues, exacted contributions, and changed the whole form of government, in the name of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: while the French army, which had been employed in oppoſing the Hanoverians, was now at liberty to throw their additional force into the ſcale againſt the King of Pruſſia, who, at that period, ſeemed to totter on the verge of deſtruction. On the other hand, the French miniſtry thought their General had granted too favourable terms to a body of forces, whom he had cooped up in ſuch a manner, that in a little time, they muſt have ſurrendered at diſcretion. They, therefore, determined either to provoke the Hanoverians by ill uſage to an infraction of the treaty, or, ſhould that be found impracticable, renounce it as an imperfect convention, eſtabliſhed without proper authority. Both expedients were uſed without reſerve. They were no ſooner informed of the ca-

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pitulation, than they refuſed to acknowledge its validity, except on condition that the Hanoverian troops ſhould formally engage to deſiſt from all ſervice, againſt France and her allies during the preſent war, and be diſarmed on their return to their own country. At the ſame time her General, who commanded in the electorate, exhauſted the country, by levying exorbitant contributions, and connived at ſuch outrages as degraded his own dignity, and reflected diſgrace on the character of his nation. The Court of London, to make a merit of neceſſity, affected to conſider the conventional act as a proviſional armiſtice, to pave the way for a negociation that might terminate in a general peace, and propoſals were offered for that purpoſe: but the French miniſtry kept aloof, and ſeemed reſolved that the electorate of Hanover ſhould be annexed to their King's dominions. At leaſt, they were bent upon keeping it as a precious depoſitum, which, in the plan of a general pacification, they imagined, would counterbalance any advantage that Great-Britain might obtain in other parts of the world. Had they been allowed to keep this depoſit, the kingdom of Great-Britain would have ſaved about twenty millions of money, together with the lives of her beſt ſoldiers; and Weſtphalia would have continued to enjoy all the bleſſings of ſecurity and peace. But the King of England's tenderneſs for Hanover was one of the chief ſources of the misfortunes which befel the electorate. He could not bear the thoughts of ſeeing it, even for a ſeaſon, in the hands of the enemy; and his own ſentiments in this particular were reinforced by the preſſing remonſtrances of the Pruſſian Monarch, whom, at this juncture, he thought it dangerous to diſoblige. Actuated by theſe motives, he was pleaſed to ſee the articles of the convention ſo palpably contravened, becauſe the violation unbound his hands, and enabled him, conſiſtently with good faith, to

take effectual ſteps for the aſſiſtance of his ally, and the recovery of his own dominions. He, therefore, in quality of Elector of Brunſwick-Lunenbourg, publiſhed a declaration, obſerving, "That his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland had, on his part, honeſtly fulfilled all the conditions of the convention; but the Duke de Richelieu demanded that the troops ſhould enter into an engagement ſpecified above, and lay down their arms; although it was expreſsly ſtipulated in the convention, that they ſhould not be regarded as priſoners of war, under which quality alone they could be diſarmed: that the French Court pretended to treat the convention as a military regulation only; and, indeed, it was originally nothing more; but as they had expreſsly diſowned its validity, and a negociation had been actually begun for diſarming the auxiliaries, upon certain conditions, though the French General would never anſwer categorically, but waited always for freſh inſtructions from Verſailles, the nature of that act was totally changed, and what was at firſt an agreement between General and General, was now become a matter of ſtate between the two Courts of London and Verſailles: that, however hard the conditions of the convention appeared to be for the troops of Hanover, his Britannick Majeſty would have acquieſced in them, had not the French glaringly diſcovered their deſign of totally ruining his army, and his dominions; and, by the moſt outrageous conduct, freed his Britannick Majeſty from every obligation under which he had been laid by the convention: that, in the midſt of the armiſtice, the moſt open hoſtilities had been committed: the caſtle of Schartzfels had been forcibly ſeized and pillaged, and the garriſon made priſoners of war: the priſoners made by the French before the convention had not been reſtored, according to an expreſs article ſtipulated between the Generals, though it had been fulfilled on the part of the Electorate,

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by

BOOK III. 1757. by the immediate releaſe of the French priſoners; the bailies of thoſe diſtricts, from which the French troops were excluded by mutual agreement, had been ſummoned, on pain of military execution, to appear before the French commiſſary, and compelled to deliver into his hands the publick revenue: the French had appropriated to themſelves part of thoſe magazines, which, by expreſs agreement, were deſtined for the uſe of the electoral troops; and they had ſeized the houſes, revenue, and corn belonging to the King of England in the city of Bremen, in violation of their engagement to conſider that city as a place abſolutely free and neutral. He took notice, that they had proceeded to menaces unheard of among civilized people, of burning, ſacking, and deſtroying every thing that fell in their way, ſhould the leaſt heſitation be made in executing the convention according to their interpretation."—Such were the profeſſed conſiderations that determined his Britannick Majeſty to renounce the agreement which they had violated, and have recourſe to arms for the relief of his ſubjects and allies. It was in conſequence of this determination that he conferred the command of his electoral army on Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, brother to the Duke of that name who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Pruſſian army by his great military talents, and was, by blood and inclination, as well as intereſt, ſuppoſed warmly attached to his Britannick Majeſty. The truth is, the King of Pruſſia recommended him to this command, becauſe he knew he could depend upon his concurring with all his meaſures, in conducting the operations of the Britiſh army. The Duke de Richelieu was no ſooner informed of theſe particulars, than he ſent a letter to Prince Ferdinand, ſpecifying, "That although for ſome days he had perceived the Hanoverian troops in motion, in order to form themſelves into a body, he could not imagine the object of theſe movements was to infringe the

convention

convention of neutrality which had been eſtabliſhed between the Duke of Cumberland and himſelf, as French General; that he was blinded ſo far by his confidence in the good faith of the Elector of Hanover, who had ſigned that convention, as to believe the troops were aſſembled for no other purpoſe than to be diſtributed into winter-quarters, which had been aſſigned them by the agreement; but his eyes were at laſt opened, by repeated advices which he had received from all quarters, importing, that the Hanoverians intended to infringe thoſe articles which ought to be ſacred and inviolable: he affirmed, the King his maſter was ſtill willing to give freſh proofs of his moderation, and his deſire to ſpare the effuſion of human blood: with that view he declared to his Serene Highneſs, in the name of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that he perſiſted in his reſolution of fulfilling exactly all the points of the convention, provided they ſhould be equally obſerved by the Hanoverian army; but he could not help appriſing his Serene Highneſs, that if this army ſhould take any equivocal ſtep, and, ſtill more, ſhould it commit any act of hoſtility, he would then puſh matters to the laſt extremity, looking upon himſelf as authoriſed ſo to do by the rules of war: that he would ſet fire to all palaces, houſes, and gardens; ſack all the towns and villages, without ſparing the moſt inconſiderable cottage, and ſubject the country to all the horrors of war and devaſtation. He conjured his Serene Highneſs to reflect on theſe particulars, and begged he would not lay him under the neceſſity of taking ſteps ſo contrary to his own perſonal character, as well as to the natural humanity of the French nation." To this letter, which was ſeconded by the Count de Lynar, the Daniſh Ambaſſador, who had meditated the convention, Prince Ferdinand returned a very laconick anſwer, intimating, that he would give the Duke de Richelieu his anſwer in perſon at the head of his army. At this particular juncture,

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juncture, the French General was disposed to abide by the original articles of the convention, rather than draw upon himself the hostilities of an army which he knew to be brave, resolute, and well appointed, and which he saw at present animated with an eager desire of wiping out the disgrace they had sustained by the capitulation, as well as of relieving their country from the grievous oppression under which it groaned.

§ XXVI. About the latter end of November the Hanoverian army was wholly assembled at Stade, under the auspices of Prince Ferdinand, who resolved, without delay, to drive the French from the electorate, whither they now began their march. Part of the enemy's rear, consisting of two thousand men, was, in their march back to Zell, attacked in the bailiwick of Ebstorff, and entirely defeated by General Schuylenbourg: and, in a few days after this action, another happened upon the river Aller, between two considerable bodies of each army, in which the Hanoverirns, commanded by General Zastrow, remained masters of the field. These petty advantages served to encourage the Allies, and put them in possession of Lunenberg, Zell, and part of the Brunswick dominions, which the enemy were obliged to abandon. The operations of Prince Ferdinand, however, were retarded by the resolution and obstinate perseverance of the French officer who commanded the garrison of Harbourg. When the Hanoverian troops made themselves masters of the town, he retired into the castle, which he held out against a considerable detachment of the allied army, by whom it was invested; at length, however, the fortifications being entirely demolished, he surrendered upon capitulation. On the sixth day of December, Prince Ferdinand began his march towards Zell, where the French army had taken post, under the command of the Duke de Richelieu, who, at the approach of the Hanoverians, called in his advanced

vanced parties, abandoned ſeveral magazines, burned all the farm-houſes and buildings belonging to the ſheep walks of his Britannick Majeſty, without paying the leaſt regard to the repreſentations made by Prince Ferdinand on this ſubject; reduced the ſuburbs of Zell to aſhes, after having allowed his men to plunder the houſes, and even ſet fire to the Orphan-hoſpital, in which a great number of helpleſs children are ſaid to have periſhed. One cannot, without horror, reflect upon ſuch brutal acts of inhumanity. The French troops, on divers occaſions, and in different parts of the Empire, acted tragedies of the ſame nature, which are not eaſily reconcileable to the character of a nation famed for ſentiment and civility. The Hanoverians having advanced within a league of Zell, the two armies began to cannonade each other; the French troops, poſted on the right of the Aller, burned their magazines, and retired into the town, where they were ſo ſtrongly entrenched, that Prince Ferdinand could not attempt the river, the paſſes of which were ſtrongly guarded by the enemy. At the ſame time, his troops were expoſed to great hardſhips from the ſeverity of the weather; he therefore retreated to Ultzen and Lunenbourg, where his army was put into winter-quarters, and executed ſeveral ſmall enterprizes by detachment, while the French General fixed his head-quarters in the city of Hanover, his cantonments extending as far as Zell, in the neighbourhood of which many ſharp ſkirmiſhes were fought from the out-parties with various ſucceſs. Their Imperial Majeſties were no ſooner appriſed of theſe tranſactions, which they conſidered as infractions of the convention, than they ſent an intimation to the Baron de Steinberg, miniſter from the King of Great-Britain as Elector of Hanover, that he ſhould appear no more at court, or confer with their miniſters; and that his reſiding at Vienna, as he might eaſily conceive, could not be very agreeable; in conſequence of which meſſage he retired,

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retired, after having obtained the neceſſary paſſports for his departure. The chagrin occaſioned at the Court of Vienna by the Hanoverian army's having recourſe to their arms again, was, in ſome meaſure, alleviated by the certain tidings received from Peterſburgh, that the Czarina had ſigned her acceſſion in form to the treaty between the Courts of Vienna, Verſailles, and Stockholm.

§ XXVII. In cloſing our account of this year's tranſactions on the continent, we may obſerve, that on the ſixteenth day of November the Queen of Poland died at Berlin of an apoplexy, ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by the ſhock ſhe received on hearing that the French were totally defeated at Roſbach. She was a lady of exemplary virtue and piety, whoſe conſtitution had been broke by grief and anxiety conceived from the diſtreſs of her own family, as well as from the miſery to which ſhe ſaw her people expoſed. With reſpect to the European powers that were not actually engaged as principals in the war, they ſeemed induſtriouſly to avoid every ſtep that might be conſtrued a deviation from the moſt ſcrupulous neutrality. The States-General proceeded with great circumſpection, in the middle courſe between two powerful neighbours, equally jealous and formidable; and the King of Spain was gratified for his forbearance with a convention ſettled between him and the belligerent powers, implying, that his ſubjects ſhould purſue their commerce at ſea without moleſtation, provided they ſhould not tranſport thoſe articles of merchandiſe which were deemed contraband by all nations. The operations at ſea, during the courſe of this year, either in Europe or America, were far from being deciſive or important. The commerce of Great-Britain ſuſtained conſiderable damage from the activity and ſucceſs of French privateers, of which a great number had been equipped in the iſlands of Martinique and Guadaloupe. The Greenwich ſhip of war, mounted with fifty guns, and a frigate

frigate of twenty, fell into the hands of the enemy, together with a very considerable number of trading vessels. On the other hand, the English cruisers and privateers acquitted themselves with equal vigilance and valour. The Duc d'Aquitaine, a large ship of fifty guns, was taken in the month of June by two British ships of war, after a severe engagement; and, about the same time, the Aquilon of nearly the same force, was driven ashore and destroyed near Brest by the Antelope, one of the British cruisers. A French frigate of twenty-six guns, called the Emeraude, was taken in the channel, after a warm engagement, by an English ship of inferior force, under the command of Captain Gilchrist, a gallant and alert officer, who, in the sequel, signalised himself on divers occasions, by very extraordinary acts of valour. All the sea-officers seemed to be animated with a noble emulation to distinguish themselves in the service of their country, and the spirit descended even to the Captains of privateers, who, instead of imitating the former Commanders of that class, in avoiding ships of force, and centering their whole attention in advantageous prizes, now encountered the armed ships of the enemy, and fought with the most obstinate valour in the pursuit of national glory. CHAP. VIII. 1757.

§ XXVIII. Perhaps history cannot afford a more remarkable instance of desperate courage than that which was exerted in December of the preceding year, by the officers and crew of an English privateer, called the Terrible, under the command of Captain William Death, equipped with twenty-six carriage guns, and manned with two hundred sailors. On the twenty-third day of the month he engaged and made prize of a large French ship from St. Domingo, after an obstinate battle, in which he lost his own brother and sixteen seamen: then he secured with forty men his prize, which contained a valuable cargo, and directed his course to England; but in a few

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few days he had the misfortune to fall in with the Vengeance, a privateer of St. Maloes, carrying thirty-six large cannon, with a complement of three hundred and sixty men. Their first step was to attack the prize, which was easily retaken; then the two ships bore down upon the Terrible, whose mainmast was shot away by the first broadside. Notwithstanding this disaster, the Terrible maintained such a furious engagement against both as can hardly be paralleled in the annals of Britain. The French Commander and his second were killed, with two thirds of his company; but the gallant Captain Death, with the greater part of his officers, and almost his whole crew, having met with the same fate, his ship was boarded by the enemy, who found no more than twenty-six persons alive, sixteen of whom were mutilated by the loss of leg or arm, and the other ten grievously wounded. The ship itself was so shattered, that it could scarce be kept above water, and the whole exhibited a scene of blood, horror, and desolation. The victor itself lay like a wreck on the surface; and in this condition made shift, with great difficulty, to tow the Terrible * into St. Maloes, where she was not beheld without astonishment and terror. This adventure was no sooner known in England, than a liberal subscription was raised for the support of Death's widow, and that part of the crew which survived the engagement. In this, and every sea-rencounter that happened within the present year, the superiority in skill and resolution was ascertained to the British mariners; for even when they fought against great odds, their courage was generally crowned with success. In the month of November, Captain Lockhart, a young gentleman, who had already rendered himself a terror to the

* There was a strange combination of names belonging to this privateer; the Terrible, equipped at Execution-Dock, commanded by Captain Death, whose Lieutenant was called Devil, and who had one Ghost for Surgeon.

enemy

enemy as commander of a ſmall frigate, now added conſiderably to his reputation, by reducing the Melampe, a French privateer of Bayonne, greatly ſuperior to his own ſhip in number of men and weight of metal. This exploit was ſeconded by another of the ſame nature, in his conqueſt of another French adventurer called the Counteſs of Gramont; and a third large privateer of Bayonne was taken by Captain Saumarez, Commander of the Antelope. In a word, the narrow ſeas were ſo well guarded, that in a little time ſcarce a French ſhip durſt appear in the Engliſh channel, which the Britiſh traders navigated without moleſtation. CHAP. VIII. 1757.

§ XXIX. On the firſt day of December, the King of Great-Britain opened the ſeſſion of Parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, which ſeemed calculated to prepare the nation for the expence of maintaining a new war on the continent of Europe. His Majeſty graciouſly declared, That it would have given him a moſt ſenſible pleaſure to acquaint them at the opening of the ſeſſion, that his ſucceſs in carrying on the war had been equal to the juſtice of his cauſe, and the extent and vigour of the meaſures formed for that purpoſe. He expreſſed the firmeſt confidence, that the ſpirit and bravery of the nation, ſo renowned in all times, which had formerly ſurmounted ſo many difficulties, were not to be abated by a few diſappointments, which, he truſted, might be retrieved by the bleſſing of God, and the zeal and ardour of his Parliament for his Majeſty's honour and the advantage of their country. He ſaid it was his determined reſolution to apply his utmoſt efforts for the ſecurity of his kingdoms, and for the recovery and protection of the poſſeſſions and rights of his crown and ſubjects in America, and elſewhere, as well by the ſtrongeſt exertion of his naval force, as by all other methods. He ſignified, that another great object which he had at heart, was the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of

BOOK III. 1757. Europe; and, in that view, to encourage and adhere to his allies. For this cauſe, he aſſured them, he would decline no inconveniencies, and in this cauſe, he earneſtly ſolicited their hearty concurrence and vigorous aſſiſtance. He obſerved, that the late ſignal ſucceſs in Germany had given a happy turn to affairs, which it was incumbent on them to improve; and that, in ſuch a critical conjuncture, the eyes of all Europe were upon them. He particularly recommended to them, that his good brother and ally the King of Pruſſia might be ſupported in ſuch a manner as his magnanimity and active zeal for the common cauſe appeared to deſerve. To the commons he expreſſed his concern that the large ſupplies they had already granted did not produce all the good fruits they had reaſon to expect; but he had ſo great a reliance on their wiſdom, as not to doubt of their perſeverance. He only deſired ſuch ſupplies as ſhould be neceſſary for the public ſervice, and told them they might depend upon it, that the beſt and moſt faithful œconomy ſhould be uſed. He took notice of that ſpirit of diſorder which had ſhown itſelf among the common people in ſome parts of the kingdom; he laid injunctions upon them to uſe their endeavours for diſcouraging and ſuppreſſing ſuch abuſes, and for maintaining the laws and lawful authority. He concluded with obſerving, that nothing would ſo effectually conduce to the defence of all that was dear to the nation, as well as to the reducing their enemies to reaſon, as union and harmony among themſelves. The time was, when every paragraph of this harangue, which the reader will perceive is not remarkable for its elegance and propriety, would have been canvaſſed and impugned by the country party in the Houſe of Commons. They would have imputed the bad ſucceſs of the war to the indiſcretion of the miniſtry, in taking prepoſterous meaſures, and appointing commanders unequal to the ſervice.

They

They would have enquired in what manner the protestant religion was endangered; and, if it was, how it could be preserved or promoted by adhering to allies, who, without provocation, had well nigh ruined the first and principal protestant country of the Empire. They would have started doubts with respect to the late signal success in Germany, and hinted, that it would only serve to protract the burthen of a continental war. They would have owned that the eyes of all Europe were upon them, and drawn this consequence, that it therefore behoved them to act with the more delicacy and caution in discharge of the sacred trust reposed in them by their constituents: a trust which their consciences would not allow to be faithfully discharged, should they rush precipitately into the destructive measures of a rash and prodigal ministry, squander away the wealth of the nation, and add to the grievous incumbrances under which it groaned, in support of connections and alliances that were equally foreign to her consideration, and pernicious to her interest. They would have investigated that cause which was so warmly recommended for support, and pretended to discover that it was a cause in which Great-Britain ought to have had no concern, because it produced a certainty of loss without the least prospect of advantage. They would have varied essentially in their opinions of the necessary supplies, from the sentiments of those who prepared the estimates, and even declared some doubts about the œconomy to be used in managing the national expence: finally, they would have represented the impossibility of union between the two parties, one of which seemed bent upon reducing the other to beggary and contempt. Such was the strain that used to flow from an opposition, said to consist of disloyalty and disappointed ambition. But that malignant spirit was now happily extinguished. The voice of the Sovereign was adored as the oracle of a divinity, and those

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An. 1758. § XXX. To the ſpeech of his Majeſty the Houſe of Lords returned an addreſs, in ſuch terms of complacency as had long diſtinguiſhed that illuſtrious aſſembly. The Commons expreſſed their approbation and confidence with equal ardour, and not one objection was made to the form or nature of the addreſs, though one gentleman, equally independent in his mind and fortune, took exceptions to ſome of the meaſures which had been lately purſued. Their complaiſance was more ſubſtantially ſpecified in the reſolutions of the Houſe, as ſoon as the two great committees of ſupply were appointed. They granted for the ſea ſervice of the enſuing year ſixty thouſand men, including fourteen thouſand eight hundred and forty-five marines, and the ſtanding army, comprehending four thouſand invalids, was fixed at fifty-three thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſeven effective men, commiſſion and non-commiſſion officers included. For the maintenance of theſe forces, by ſea and land, the charge of guards and garriſons, at home and abroad, the expence of the ordnance, and in order to make good the ſum which had been iſſued by his Majeſty's orders, in purſuance of the addreſs from the Commons, they now allotted four millions, twenty-two thouſand, eight hundred and ſeven pounds, ſeven ſhillings, and three-pence. They unanimouſly granted, as a preſent ſupply in the then critical exigency, towards enabling his Majeſty to maintain and keep together the army formed laſt year in his electoral dominions, and then again put in motion, and actually employed againſt the common enemy, in concert with the King of Pruſſia, the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds: for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the ſea officers, they allowed two hundred twenty-four

four thouſand, four hundred twenty-one pounds, five ſhillings, and eight-pence: towards the building and ſupport of the three hoſpitals for ſeamen at Goſport, Plymouth, and Greenwich, thirty thouſand pounds: for the reduced officers of the land-forces and marines, penſions to the widows of officers, and other ſuch military contingencies, forty thouſand nine hundred and twenty-ſix pounds, ſeventeen ſhillings, and eleven pence: towards building, re-building, and repairs of his Majeſty's ſhips for the enſuing year, the ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds; for defraying the charge of two thouſand one hundred and twenty horſe, and nine thouſand nine hundred infantry, together with the general and ſtaff officers, the officers of the hoſpital and the train of artillery, being the troops of the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel in the pay of Great-Britain, for ſixty days, together with the ſubſidy for the ſaid time, purſuant to treaty, they aſſigned thirty-eight thouſand three hundred and ſixty pounds, nineteen ſhillings, and ten-pence three farthings. To the Foundling-hoſpital they gave forty thouſand pounds, for the maintenance and education of deſerted young children, as well as for the reception of all ſuch as ſhould be preſented under a certain age, to be limited by the governors and guardians of that charity. Three hundred thouſand pounds were given towards diſcharging the debt of the navy, and two hundred and eighty-four thouſand eight hundred and two pounds for making up the deficiency of the grants for the ſervice of the preceding year. The Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel was, moreover, gratified with the further ſum of two hundred and three thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſix pounds, four ſhillings, and nine-pence farthing, for the maintenance of his forces, and the remainder of his ſubſidy. They granted ſix hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds for enabling his Majeſty to make good his engagements with the King of Pruſſia, purſuant to a convention lately concluded with that po-

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tentate. For defraying the charge of thirty-eight thouſand men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttel, Saxe-Gotha, and the Count of Buckebourg, together with that of general and ſtaff-officers actually employed againſt the common enemy, in concert with the King of Pruſſia, from the twenty-eighth day of November in the laſt, to the twenty-fourth of December in the preſent year incluſive, to be iſſued in advance every two months, they allotted the ſum of four hundred and ſixty-three thouſand eighty-four pounds, ſix ſhillings, and ten pence; and furthermore they granted three hundred eighty-ſix thouſand, nine hundred and fifteen pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and two-pence, to defray the charges of forage, bread-waggons, train of artillery, proviſions, wood, ſtraw, and all other extraordinary expences, contingencies, and loſſes whatſoever, incurred, or to be incurred, on account of his Majeſty's army, conſiſting of thirty-eight thouſand men, actually employed againſt the common enemy, in concert with the King of Pruſſia, from November laſt to next December incluſive. For the extraordinary expences of the land-forces, and other ſervices, incurred in the courſe of the laſt year, and not provided for by Parliament, they allowed one hundred forty-five thouſand, four hundred fifty-four pounds, fifteen ſhillings, and one farthing. They provided eight hundred thouſand pounds to enable his Majeſty to defray the like ſum raiſed in purſuance of an act made in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, and charged upon the firſt aids and ſupplies to be granted in the current ſeſſion. Twenty-ſix thouſand pounds were beſtowed on the out-penſioners of Chelſea-hoſpital; above twenty thouſand for the expence of maintaining the colonies of Nova-Scotia and Georgia; for reimburſing to the province of Maſſachuſet's-Bay, and the colony of Connecticut, their expence in furniſhing proviſions and ſtores to the troops raiſed by them, for his Majeſty's ſervice, in the campaign

of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-ſix, the ſum of forty-one thouſand, one hundred, ſeventeen pounds, ſeventeen ſhillings, and ſix-pence half-penny; to be applied towards the rebuilding of London-bridge, carrying on the works for fortifying and ſecuring the harbour of Milford, and repairing the pariſh church of St. Margaret, in Weſtminſter, they allotted twenty-nine thouſand pounds. The Eaſt-India company were indulged with twenty thouſand pounds on account, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their ſettlements, to be maintained by them in lieu of the battalion of his Majeſty's forces withdrawn from thoſe ſettlements: the ſum of ten thouſand pounds was given, as uſual, for maintaining and ſupporting the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa; and eleven thouſand four hundred and fifty were granted as an augmentation to the ſalaries of the judges in the ſuperior courts of judicature. They likewiſe provided one hundred thouſand pounds for defraying the charge of pay and clothing to the militia, and advanced eight hundred thouſand pounds, to enable his Majeſty to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred or to be incurred, for the ſervice of the current year; and to take all ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary to diſappoint or defeat any enterpriſes or deſigns of his enemies, as the exigency of his affairs might require. The whole ſupplies of this ſeſſion amounted to the enormous ſum of ten millions, four hundred eighty-ſix thouſand, four hundred fifty-ſeven pounds, and one penny. Nothing could ſo plainly demonſtrate the implicit confidence which the Parliament, at this juncture, repoſed in the Sovereign and the miniſtry, as their conduct in granting ſuch liberal ſupplies, great part of which were beſtowed in favour of our German allies, whom the Britiſh nation thus generouſly paid for fighting their own battles. Beſides the ſum of one million, eight hundred ſixty-one thouſand, eight

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hundred ninety-ſeven pounds, four ſhillings and eight pence, expreſsly aſſigned for the ſupport of theſe continental connections, a ſum conſiderably exceeding the whole of the revenue raiſed in the reign of Charles the Second, and what part of the ſum granted to the King for extraordinary expences might be applied to the ſame uſe, the article might not improperly be ſwelled with the vaſt expence incurred by expeditions to the coaſt of France; the chief, if not ſole, deſign of which ſeemed to be a diverſion in favour of the nation's allies in Germany, by preventing France from ſending ſuch numerous armies into that country as it could have ſpared, had not its ſea-coaſts required a conſiderable body of forces for its defence againſt the attempts of the Engliſh. Indeed the partiſans of the miniſtry were at great pains to ſuggeſt and inculcate a belief, that the war in Germany was chiefly ſupported as a neceſſary diverſion in favour of Great-Britain and her plantations, which would have been expoſed to inſult and invaſion, had not the enemy's forces been otherwiſe employed. But the abſurdity of this notion will at once appear to thoſe who conſider, that by this time Great-Britain was ſole miſtreſs of the ſea: that the navy of France was almoſt ruined, and her commerce on the ocean quite extinguiſhed; that ſhe could not, with the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs, hazard any expedition of conſequence againſt Great-Britain, or any part of her dominions, while the ocean was covered with ſuch powerful navies belonging to that nation; and that if one third part of the money, annually ingulfed in the German vortex, had been employed in augmenting the naval forces of England, and thoſe forces properly exerted, not a ſingle cruiſer would have been able to ſtir from the harbours of France; all her colonies in the Weſt-Indies would have fallen an eaſy prey to the arms of Great-Britain; and, thus

cut off from the resources of commerce, she must have been content to embrace such terms of peace as the victor should have thought proper to prescribe.

§ XXXI. The funds established by the committee of ways and means, in order to realise those articles of supply, consisted of the malt-tax, the land-tax, at four shillings in the pound, sums remaining in the Exchequer, produced from the sinking fund, four millions, five hundred thousand pounds, to be raised by annuities, at three pounds ten shillings per cent. per ann. and five hundred thousand pounds, by a lottery, attended with annuities redeemable by Parliament, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per ann. these several annuities to be transferrable at the Bank of England, and charged upon a fund to be established in this session of Parliament for payment thereof, and for which the sinking fund should be a collateral security*—one million, six hundred and

* It was enacted, that every person subscribing for five hundred pounds should be entitled to four hundred and fifty in annuities, and fifty pounds in lottery tickets, and so in proportion for a greater or lesser sum; that the lottery should consist of tickets of the value of ten pounds each, in a proportion not exceeding eight blanks to a prize; the blanks to be of the value of six pounds each; the blanks and prizes to bear an interest after the rate of three pounds per cent. to commence from the first day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine; and that the sum of four millions, five hundred thousand pounds, to be raised by annuities, should bear an interest after the rate of three pounds ten shillings per cent. from the fifth day of July, in the present year; which annuities should stand reduced to three pounds per cent. after the expiration of twenty-four years, and afterwards be redeemable in the whole, or in part, by sums not less than five hundred thousand pounds, at one time, six months' notice having been first given of such payments respectively; that any subscriber might, on or before the twenty-ninth day of April, make a deposit of ten pounds per cent. on such sum as he should choose to subscribe towards raising these five millions, with the cashiers of the Bank, as a security for his future payments on the days appointed for that purpose; that the several sums so received by the cashiers should be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied from time to time to such services as should then have been voted by the House of Commons in this session of Parliament, and not otherwise; that any subscriber, paying the whole or any part of his subscription previous to the days appointed for the respective payments, should be allowed a discount, at the rate of three per cent. from the days of such respective payments to the respective times on which

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and six thousand and seventy-six pounds, five shillings, one penny, one farthing, issued and applied out of such monies as should or might arise from the surpluses, excesses, and other revenues composing the sinking fund—a tax of one shilling in the pound to be annually paid from all salaries, fees, and perquisites of offices, and employments in Great-Britain, and from all pensions and other gratuities payable out of any revenues belonging to his Majesty in Great-Britain, exceeding the yearly value of one hundred pounds—an imposition of one shilling annually upon every dwelling house inhabited within the kingdom of Great-Britain over and above all other duties already chargeable upon them, to commence from the fifth day of April—an additional tax of sixpence yearly for every window or light in every dwelling house inhabited in Britain which shall contain fifteen windows or upwards; a continuation of certain acts near expiring, with respect to the duties payable on foreign sail-cloth imported into Great-Britain, the exportation of British gunpowder, the securing and encouraging the trade of his Majesty's sugar colonies, in America, and the empowering the importers and proprietors of spirits from the British sugar plantations to land them before payment of the duties of excise, and to lodge them in warehouses at their own expence—an annual tax of forty shillings for a licence to be taken out by every person trading in, selling, or vending gold or silver plate, in lieu of the duty of sixpence per ounce on all silver plate, made or wrought, or which ought to be touched, assayed, or marked in this kingdom, which duty now ceased and determined—a cessation of all drawbacks, payable on the exportation of silver plate—a law prohibiting all persons from selling, by retail, any sweet or made wine, without having first procured a licence

* which such payments were directed to be made, and that all persons who should make their full payments on the said lottery, should receive their tickets as soon as they could be conveniently made out.

for

for that purpoſe—and a loan by Exchequer bill for eight hundred thouſand pounds, to be charged on the firſt aids to be granted in the next ſeſſion of Parliament. Theſe proviſions amounted to the ſum of eleven millions, ſeventy-nine thouſand, ſeven hundred and twenty-two pounds, ſix ſhillings, and ten pence, exceeding the grants in the ſum of five hundred ninety-three thouſand, two hundred and ſixty-five pounds, ſix ſhillings and nine-pence, ſo that the nation had reaſon to hope that this ſurplus of above half a million would prevent any demand for deficiencies in the next ſeſſion. By theſe copious grants of a Houſe of Commons, whoſe complaiſance knew no bounds, the national debt was, at this juncture, ſwelled to the aſtoniſhing ſum of eighty-ſeven millions, three hundred and ſixty-ſeven thouſand, two hundred and ten pounds nineteen ſhillings, and ten-pence farthing; a load that would have cruſhed the national credit of any other ſtate in Chriſtendom. CHAP. VIII. 1758.

§ XXXII. The liberality of the Parliament was like the rock in the wilderneſs, which flowed with the welcome ſtream when touched by the rod of Moſes. The preſent ſupply which the Commons granted for the ſubſiſtence of the Hanoverian army was, in purſuance of a meſſage from his Majeſty, communicated to the Houſe by Mr. Secretary Pitt, ſignifying, That the King had ordered his electoral army to be put again in motion, that it might act with vigour againſt the common enemy, in concert with his good brother and ally, the King of Pruſſia; that the exhauſted and ruined ſtate of the electorate having rendered it incapable of maintaining that army, until the further neceſſary charge thereof, as well as the more particular meaſures then concerting for the effectual ſupport of his Pruſſian Majeſty, could be laid before the Houſe, the King, relying on the conſtant zeal of his faithful Commons for the ſupport of the Proteſtant religion, and of the liberties

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join an association whose aim was the ruin of that religion. It is not credible that even the Hungarians, who profess the same faith, and other Protestant States of the Empire, would enter so heartily into the interests of those who were bent upon its destruction; or that the Russians would contribute to the aggrandisement of the catholick faith and discipline, so opposite to that of the Greek church, which they espouse. As, therefore, no particular of such a design was explained, no act of oppression towards any Protestant State or society pointed out, except those that were exercised by the Protestants themselves; and as the Court of Vienna repeatedly disavowed any such design, in the most solemn manner, the unprejudiced part of mankind will be apt to conclude that the cry of religion was used, as in former times, to arouse, alarm, and inflame; nor did the artifice prove altogether unsuccessful. Notwithstanding the general lukewarmth of the age in matters of religion, it produced considerable effect among the fanatick sectaries that swarm through the kingdom of England. The leaders of those blind enthusiasts, either actuated by the spirit of delusion, or desirous of recommending themselves to the protection of the higher powers, immediately seized the hint, expatiating vehemently on the danger that impended over God's people; and exerting all their faculties to impress the belief of a religious war, which never fails to exasperate and impel the minds of men to such deeds of cruelty and revenge as must discredit all religion, and even disgrace humanity. The signal trust and confidence which the Parliament of England reposed in the King, at this juncture, was in nothing more conspicuous than in leaving to the Crown the unlimited application of the sum granted for augmenting the salaries of the judges. In the reign of King William, when the Act of settlement was passed, the Parliament jealous of the influence which the Crown might

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might acquire over the Judges, provided, by an expreſs clauſe of that act, that the commiſſions of the Judges ſhould ſubſiſt *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*, and that their ſalaries ſhould be eſtabliſhed: but now we find a ſum of money granted for the augmentation of their ſalaries, and the Crown veſted with a diſcretionary power to proportion and apply this augmentation: a ſtretch of complaiſance, which, how ſafe ſoever it may appear during the reign of a Prince famed for integrity and moderation, will perhaps one day be conſidered as a very dangerous acceſſion to the prerogative.

§ XXXIII. So fully perſuaded were the miniſtry, that the Commons would chearfully enable them to pay what ſubſidies they might promiſe to their German allies, that on the eleventh of April they concluded a new treaty of convention with his Pruſſian Majeſty, which, that it might have the firmer conſiſtence, and the greater authority, was, on the part of Great-Britain, tranſacted and ſigned by almoſt all the privy counſellors who had any ſhare in the adminiſtration *. This treaty, which was ſigned at Weſtminſter, imported, "That the contracting powers having mutually reſolved to continue their efforts for their reciprocal defence and ſecurity, for the recovery of their poſſeſſions, the protection of their allies, and the ſupport of the liberties of the Germanick body, his Britannick Majeſty had, from theſe conſiderations, determined to grant to his Pruſſian Majeſty an immediate ſuccour in money, as being the moſt ready and the moſt efficacious; and their Majeſties having judged it proper that

* Theſe were, Sir Robert Henly, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; John, Earl of Granville, Preſident of the Council; Thomas Holles, Duke of Newcaſtle, Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury; Robert, Earl of Holderneſſe, one of the principal Secretaries of State; Philip, Earl of Hardwicke; and William Pitt, Eſq. another of the principal Secretaries of State. In the name and on the part of his Pruſſian Majeſty, the Sieurs Dado Henry, Baron of Knyphauſen, his Privy Counſellor of Embaſſy, and Miniſter Plenipotentiary at the Court of London; and Louis Michel, his Reſident and Chargé d'Affaires.

thereupon

thereupon a convention ſhould be made, for declaring and fixing their intentions upon this head, they had nominated and authoriſed their reſpective miniſters, who, after having communicated their full powers to one another, agreed to the following ſtipulations:—The King of Great-Britain engaged to pay in the city of London, to ſuch perſons as ſhould be authoriſed to receive it by his Pruſſian Majeſty, the ſum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to ſix hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds ſterling, to be paid at once, and in one whole ſum, immediately after the exchange of ratification, upon being demanded by his Pruſſian Majeſty. This Prince, on his part, obliged himſelf to apply that ſum to the maintaining and augmenting his forces, which ſhould act in the beſt manner for the good of the common cauſe, and for the purpoſe of reciprocal defence and mutual ſecurity, propoſed by their ſaid Majeſties. Moreover, the high contracting parties engaged not to conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, nor any other ſort of convention or agreement, with the powers engaged in the preſent war, but in concert and by mutual agreement, wherein both ſhould be nominally comprehended. Finally, it was ſtipulated that this convention ſhould be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged on both ſides, within the term of ſix weeks, to be computed from the day of ſigning this preſent convention, or ſooner, if poſſible."

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§ XXXIV. All the reſolutions to which the committee of ways and means agreed were executed by bills or clauſes in bills, which afterwards received the Royal ſanction. The militia ſtill continued to be an object of parliamentary care and attention: but the inſtitution was not yet heartily embraced, becauſe ſeemingly diſcountenanced by the remnant of the old miniſtry, which ſtill maintained a capital place in the late coalition, and indeed almoſt wholly engroſſed the diſtribution of penſions and places.

The

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The Commons having preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty, with reſpect to the harbour of Milford-haven, a book of plans and eſtimates for fortifying that harbour was laid before the Houſe, and a committee appointed to examine the particulars. They were of opinion that the mouth of the harbour was too wide to admit of any fortification, or effectual defence; but that the paſſage called Nailand-point, lying higher than Hubberſtone-road, might be fortified, ſo as to afford ſafe riding and protecton to the trade and navy of Great-Britain: that, if it ſhould be thought proper hereafter to eſtabliſh a yard and dock for building and equipping fleets at Milford, no place could, from the ſituation, nature, ſoil, and a general concurrence of all neceſſary local circumſtances, be more fitted for ſuch a deſign; that if a proper uſe were made of this valuable though long-neglected harbour, the diſtreſsful delays too often embarraſſing and diſappointing the nation in her naval operations, might be, in a great meaſure happily removed, to the infinite relief and enlargement of the kingdom in the means of improving its naval force; the neceſſary progreſs and free execution of which was now ſo unhappily and frequently reſtrained and fruſtrated, by the want of a harbour like that of Milford-haven, framed by nature with ſuch local advantages. This report appeared to be ſo well ſupported by evidence, that a bill was framed, and paſſed into an act, for granting ten thouſand pounds towards carrying on the works for fortifying and ſecuring the harbour of Milford in the county of Pembroke. Other laws of national conſequence were enacted, in the courſe of this ſeſſion, with little or no oppoſition. On the very firſt day of their ſitting, the Commons received a petition from the mayor, magiſtrates, merchants and inhabitants of Liverpool, complaining of the high price of wheat, and other grain; expreſſing their apprehenſion that it would continue

nue to riſe, unleſs the time for the importation of foreign corn, duty-free, ſhould be prolonged, or ſome other ſalutary meaſure taken by Parliament, to prevent dealers from engroſſing corn; ſubmitting to the wiſdom of the Houſe a total prohibition of diſtilling and exporting grain while the high price ſhould continue; praying they would take the premiſes into conſideration, and grant a ſeaſonable relief to the petitioners, by a continuance of a free importation, and taking ſuch other effectual means to reduce the growing price of corn as to them ſhould ſeem neceſſary and expedient. This being an urgent caſe, that equally intereſted the humanity of the legiſlature and the manufactures of the kingdom, it was deliberated upon, and diſcuſſed with remarkable diſpatch. In a few days a bill was prepared, paſſed through both Houſes, and enacted into a law, continuing till the twenty-fourth day of December, in the preſent year, the three acts of laſt ſeſſion; for prohibiting the exportation of corn; for prohibiting the diſtillation of ſpirits; and for allowing the importation of corn, duty-free. A ſecond law was eſtabliſhed, regulating the price and aſſize of bread, and ſubjecting to ſevere penalties thoſe who ſhould be concerned in its adulteration. In conſequence of certain reſolutions taken in a committee of the whole Houſe, a bill was preſented for prohibiting the payment of the bounty upon the exportation of corn, unleſs ſold at a lower price than is allowed in an act paſſed in the firſt year of the reign of William and Mary: but this bill, after having been read a ſecond time, and committed, was neglected, and proved abortive.

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§ XXXV. In conſequence of a motion made by Mr. Grenville, a humane bill was prepared and brought in for the encouragement of ſeamen employed in the royal navy, eſtabliſhing a regular method for the punctual, frequent, and certain payment of their wages; enabling them more eaſily

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The power veſted by law in the Crown over the militia, is even more independent than that which it exerciſes over the ſtanding army: for this laſt expires at the end of the year, if not continued by a new act of Parliament; whereas the militia is ſubjected to the power of the Crown for the term of five years, during which it may be called out into actual ſervice without conſent of Parliament, and conſequently employed for ſiniſter purpoſes. A commiſſion-officer in the militia may be detained, as ſubject to the articles of war, until the Crown ſhall allow the militia to return to their reſpective pariſhes; and thus engaged, he is liable to death as a mutineer, or deſerter, ſhould he refuſe to appear in arms, and fight in ſupport of the worſt meaſures of the worſt miniſter. Several merchants and manufacturers of ſilk, offered a petition, repreſenting, that in conſequence of the act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion, allowing the importation of fine organzine Italian thrown ſilk till the firſt day of December, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-ſeven, they had given orders to their correſpondents abroad to ſend large quantities of ſuch ſilk through Germany to Hamburgh and Holland, which, in the common courſe of things, might probably have arrived in London before the act expired, if their carriage had not been protracted by the great rains and inundations in Italy and Germany, in the months of Auguſt and September laſt, which rendered the roads for many weeks impaſſable: that from unlucky accidents on ſhore, and ſtorms and contrary winds after the ſilk was ſhipped, it could not poſſibly arrive within the time limited by the act; and unleſs it ſhould be admitted to an entry, they, the petitioners, would be great ſufferers, the manufacturers greatly prejudiced, and the good end and purpoſe of the act in a great meaſure fruſtrated: they therefore prayed leave to bring in a bill for allowing the introduction of all ſuch fine Italian organzined ſilk as ſhould

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appear to have been ſhipped in Holland and Hamburgh for London, on or before the firſt day of December. The petition being referred to a committee, which reported that theſe allegations were true, the Houſe complied with their requeſt, and the bill having paſſed, was enacted into a law in the uſual form. A ſpeedy paſſage was likewiſe granted to the mutiny-bill, and the other annual meaſure for regulating the marine forces, which contained nothing new or extraordinary. A committee being appointed to enquire what laws were already expired, or near expiring, they performed this difficult taſk with indefatigable patience and perſeverance; and, in purſuance of their reſolutions, three bills were prepared and paſſed into laws, continuing ſome acts for a certain time, and rendering others perpetual*.

* Among thoſe rendered perpetual, we find an act of the 13th and 14th of Charles II. for preventing theft and rapine. An act of the 9th of George I. for puniſhing perſons going armed in diſguiſe. A clauſe in the act of the ſixth of George II. to prevent the breaking down the bank of any river; and another clauſe in the ſaid act, to prevent the treacherous cutting of hop-binds. Several clauſes in an act of the 10th of George II. for puniſhing perſons ſetting on fire any mine, &c. The temporary part of the act of the 20th of George II. for taking away the hereditary juriſdictions of Scotland, relating to the power of appealing to circuit courts. Thoſe continued were, I. An act of the 12th of George II. for granting liberty to carry ſugars, &c. until the twenty-ninth September, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-four, and to the end of the next ſeſſion of Parliament. II. An act of the 5th of George II. to prevent frauds by bankrupts, &c. for the ſame period. III. An act of the 8th of George II. for encouraging the importation of naval ſtores, &c. for the ſame period. IV. An act of the 19th of George II. for preventing frauds in the admeaſurement of coals, &c. until June 24, 1759; and to this was added, a perpetual clauſe for preventing the ſtealing or deſtroying of madder roots. V. An act of the 9th of George II. for encouraging the manufacture of Britiſh ſail-cloth until the twenty-ninth of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-four. VI. An act of the 4th of George II. granting an allowance upon Britiſh-made gunpowder, for the ſame period. VII. An act of the 4th of George II. for encouraging the trade of the ſugar colonies, until the twenty-ninth of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-one. And, VIII. ſo much of the act of the 13th and 16th of George II. to empower the importers of rum, &c. as relates to landing it before the payment of duties, until the 29th of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-four.

§ XXXVI.

§ XXXVI. The Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in common council aſſembled, having drawn up a petition to the Houſe of Commons, alledging that the toll upon loaded veſſels or other craft, paſſing through the arches of London-bridge, granted by a former act, paſſed in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty, for improving, widening, and enlarging the paſſage both under and over the ſaid bridge, was altogether precarious, and inſufficient to defray the expence, including that of a temporary wooden bridge already erected; and praying that a bill might be prepared, for explaining and rendering that act effectual; a committee was appointed to examine the contents, and a bill brought in according to their requeſt. This, however, was oppoſed by a petition from ſeveral perſons, owners of barges, and other craft navigating the river Thames, who affirmed, that if the bill ſhould paſs into a law as it then ſtood, it would be extremely injurious to the petitioners in particular, and to the publick in general. Theſe were heard by their council before the committee, but no report was yet given, when the temporary bridge was reduced to aſhes. Then the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of London, preſented another petition, alledging, that, in purſuance of the powers veſted in them by act of Parliament, they had already demoliſhed a good number of the houſes on London-bridge, and directed the reſt that were ſtanding to be taken down with all convenient expedition, that two of the arches might be laid into one for the improvement of the navigation; that they had, at a very great expence, erected a temporary wooden bridge, to preſerve a publick paſſage to and from the city, until the great arch could be finiſhed, which temporary bridge being conſumed by fire, they muſt rebuild it with the greateſt expedition, at a further conſiderable expence; that the ſum neceſſary for carrying on and completing this great

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and useful work, including the rebuilding of the said temporary bridge, was estimated at fourscore thousand pounds: and as the improving, widening, and enlarging London-bridge, was calculated for the general good of the publick, for the advancement of trade and commerce, and for making the navigation upon the river Thames more safe and secure; they, therefore, prayed the House to take the premises into consideration. This petition being recommended by his Majesty to the consideration of the House, was referred to the Committee of Supply, and produced the resolution of granting fifteen thousand pounds towards the rebuilding of London-bridge. A bill was prepared, under the title of an act to improve, widen, and enlarge the passage over and through London-bridge, enforcing the payment of the toll imposed upon loaded vessels, which had been found extremely burthensome to trade; but this incumbrance was prevented by another petition of several merchants, tradesmen, and other inhabitants of the borough of Southwark, taking notice of the fifteen thousand pounds granted towards the repair of London-bridge, and, as they were informed, intended to make the said bridge free for all his Majesty's subjects: they said they hoped to partake of this publick bounty; but afterwards hearing that the bill then depending was confined to the tolls formerly granted for repairing the said bridge, they represented the hardships which they and all traders would continue to labour under; they alledged, that the surveyors and workmen, then employed upon this work, had discovered the true principles on which the bridge was built; that the foundation of the piers consisted of hard durable stone, well cemented together, and now as strong and firm as when first built; that when the bridge should be finished, great savings would be made in keeping it in repair, from the sums formerly expended, on a mistaken opinion, that the foundation

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was of wood: that there were very conſiderable eſtates appointed ſolely for the repairs of the bridge, which they apprehended, would be ſufficient to maintain it without any toll: or if they ſhould not be thought adequate to that purpoſe, they hoped the deficiency would not be made up by a toll upon trade and commerce, but rather by an impoſition on coaches, chariots, chaiſes, and ſaddle-horſes. This remonſtrance made no impreſſion on the Houſe. The Bill being, on a motion of Sir John Philips, read a third time, paſſed through both Houſes, and obtained the Royal aſſent. CHAP. VIII. 1758.

§ XXXVII. The intereſt of the manufactures was alſo conſulted in an act encouraging the growth of madder, a plant eſſentially neceſſary in dying and printing callicoes, which may be raiſed in England without the leaſt inconvenience. It was judged, upon enquiry, that the moſt effectual means to encourage the growth of this commodity would be to aſcertain the tythe of it; and a bill was brought in for that purpoſe. The rate of the tythe was eſtabliſhed at five ſhillings an acre; and it was enacted, that this law ſhould continue in force for fourteen years, and to the end of the next ſeſſion of Parliament; but wherefore this encouragement was made temporary it is not eaſy to determine. The laws relating to the poor, though equally numerous and oppreſſive to the ſubject, having been found defective, a new clauſe, relating to the ſettlement of ſervants and apprentices, was now added to an act paſſed in the twentieth year of the preſent reign, intituled, "An act for the better adjuſting and more eaſily recovering of the wages of certain ſervants, and of certain apprentices." No country in the univerſe can produce ſo many laws made in behalf of the poor as thoſe that are daily accumulating in England: in no other country is there ſo much money raiſed for their ſupport, by private charity, as well as publick taxation; yet this, as much as any country

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ſwarms with vagrant beggars, and teems with objects of miſery and diſtreſs; a ſure ſign either of miſconduct in the legiſlature, or a ſhameful relaxation in the executive part of the civil adminiſtration.—The ſcenes of corruption, perjury, riot, and intemperance, which every election for a member of Parliament had lately produced, were now grown ſo infamouſly open and intolerable, and the right of voting was rendered ſo obſcure and perplexed by the pretenſions and proceedings of all the candidates for Oxfordſhire in the laſt election, that the fundamentals of the conſtitution ſeemed to ſhake, and the very eſſence of Parliaments to be in danger. Actuated by theſe apprehenſions, Sir John Philips, a gentleman of Wales, who had long diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the oppoſition by his courage and independent ſpirit, moved for leave to bring in a bill that ſhould obviate any doubts which might ariſe concerning the electors of knights of the ſhire to ſerve in Parliament for England, and further regulate the proceedings of ſuch elections. He was accordingly permitted to bring in ſuch a bill, in conjunction with Mr. Townſhend, Mr. Cornwall, and Lords North and Carysfort; and in the uſual courſe, the bill being prepared, was enacted into a law, under the title of, "An Act for further explaining the laws touching the electors of knights of the ſhire to ſerve in Parliament for that part of Great-Britain called England." The preamble ſpecified, That though, by an act paſſed in the eighteenth year of the preſent reign, it was provided, that no perſon might vote at the election of a knight or knights of a ſhire within England and Wales, without having a freehold eſtate, in the county for which he votes, of the clear yearly value of forty ſhillings, over and above all rents and charges, payable out of or in reſpect to the ſame; nevertheleſs, certain perſons, who hold their eſtates by copy of court-roll, pretend to a right of voting, and have, at certain times,

times, preſumed to vote at ſuch elections: this act, therefore, ordained, that from and after the twenty-ninth day of June, in the preſent year, no perſon who holds his eſtate by copy of court-roll ſhould be intitled thereby to vote at the election of any knight or knights of a ſhire within England or Wales; but every ſuch vote ſhould be void, and the perſon ſo voting ſhould forfeit fifty pounds to any candidate for whom ſuch vote ſhould not have been given, and who ſhould firſt ſue for the ſame, to be recovered with full coſts, by action of debt, in any court of judicature*. So far the act, thus procured, may be attended with ſalutary conſequences: but, in all probability, the intention of its firſt movers and patrons was not fully anſwered; inaſmuch as no proviſion was made for putting a ſtop to that ſpirit of licence, drunkenneſs, and debauchery, which prevails at almoſt every election, and has a very pernicious effect upon the morals of the people.

§ XXXVIII. Among the bills that miſcarried in the courſe of this ſeſſion, ſome turned on points of great conſequence to the community. Lord Barrington, Mr. Thomas Gore, and Mr. Charles Townſhend, were ordered by the Houſe to prepare a bill for the ſpeedy and effectual recruiting his Majeſty's land-forces and marines, which was no more than a tranſcript of the temporary act paſſed in the preceding ſeſſion under the ſame title; but the ma-

* For the more eaſy recovery of this forfeit, it was enacted, That the plaintiff in ſuch action might only ſet forth, in the declaration or bill, that the defendant was indebted to him in the ſum of fifty pounds, alledging the offence for which the ſuit ſhould be brought, and that the defendant had acted contrary to this act, without mentioning the writ of ſummons to parliament, or the return thereof; and, upon trial of any iſſue, the plaintiff ſhould not be obliged to prove the writ of ſummons to parliament, or the return thereof, or any warrant or authority to the ſheriff upon any ſuch writ: that every ſuch action ſhould be commenced within nine months after the fact committed; and that, if the plaintiff ſhould diſcontinue his action, or be non-ſuited, or have judgment given againſt him, the defendant ſhould recover treble coſts.

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jority were averſe to its being continued for another year, as it was attended with ſome prejudice to the liberty of the ſubject. Objections of the ſame nature might have been as juſtly ſtarted againſt another bill, for the more effectually manning of his Majeſty's navy, for preventing deſertion, and for the relief and encouragement of ſeamen belonging to ſhips and veſſels in the ſervice of the merchants. The purport of this project was to eſtabliſh regiſters or muſter-rolls of all ſeamen, fiſhermen, lightermen, and watermen; obliging ſhip-maſters to leave ſubſcribed liſts of their reſpective crews at offices maintained for that purpoſe, that a certain number of them might be choſen by lot for his Majeſty's ſervice, in any caſe of emergency. This expedient, however, was rejected, as an unneceſſary and ineffectual incumbrance on commerce, which would hamper navigation, and, in a little time, diminiſh the number of ſeamen, of conſequence act diametrically oppoſite to the purpoſe for which it was contrived.

Numberleſs frauds having been committed, and inceſſant law-ſuits produced, by private and clandeſtine conveyances, a motion was made, and leave given, to form a bill for the publick regiſtering of all deeds, conveyances, wills, and other incumbrances, that might affect any honours, manours, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, within the kingdom of England, wherein publick regiſters were not already appointed by act of Parliament: but this meaſure, ſo neceſſary to the aſcertainment and poſſeſſion of property, met with a violent oppoſition; and was finally dropped, as ſome people imagine, through the influence of thoſe who, perhaps, had particular reaſons for countenancing the preſent myſterious forms of conveyancing. Such a bill muſt alſo have been diſagreeable and mortifying to the pride of thoſe landholders whoſe eſtates were incumbered, becauſe, in conſequence of ſuch a regiſter, every mortgage under which they

laboured

laboured would be exactly known. The next object to which the Houſe converted its attention, was a bill explaining and amending a late act for eſtabliſhing a fiſh-market in the city of Weſtminſter, and preventing ſcandalous monopolies of a few engroſſing fiſhmongers, who impoſed exorbitant prices on their fiſh, and, in this particular branch of traffick, gave law to above ſix hundred thouſand of their fellow-citizens. Abundance of pains was taken to render this bill effectual, for putting an end to ſuch flagrant impoſition. Enquiries were made, petitions read, counſel heard, and alterations propoſed: at length the bill, having paſſed through the Lower Houſe, was conveyed to the Lords, among whom it was ſuffered to expire, on pretence that there was not time ſufficient to deliberate maturely on the ſubject. CHAP. VIII. 1758.

§ XXXIX. The occaſion that produced the next bill which miſcarried we ſhall explain, as an incident equally extraordinary and intereſting. By an act paſſed in the preceding ſeſſion, for recruiting his Majeſty's land-forces and marines, we have already obſerved, that the commiſſioners thereby appointed were veſted with a power of judging ultimately, whether the perſons brought before them were ſuch as ought, by the rules preſcribed in the act, to be impreſſed into the ſervice: for it was expreſsly provided, that no perſon, ſo impreſſed by thoſe commiſſioners, ſhould be taken out of his Majeſty's ſervice by any proceſs, other than for ſome criminal accuſation. During the receſs of Parliament, a gentleman having been impreſſed before the commiſſioners, and confined in the Savoy, his friends made application for a habeas-corpus, which produced ſome heſitation, and indeed an inſurmountable difficulty: for, according to the writ of habeas-corpus, paſſed in the reign of Charles the Second, this privilege relates only to perſons committed for criminal or ſuppoſed criminal matters, and the gentleman

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tleman did not ſtand in that predicament. Before the queſtion could be determined he was diſcharged, in conſequence of an application to the Secretary at War; but the nature of the caſe plainly pointed out a defect in the act, ſeemingly of the moſt dangerous conſequence to the liberty of the ſubject. In order to remedy this defect, a bill for giving a more ſpeedy relief to the ſubject, upon the writ of habeas-corpus, was prepared, and preſented to the Houſe of Commons, which formed itſelf into a committee, and made ſeveral amendments. It imported, that the ſeveral proviſions made in the aforeſaid act, paſſed in the reign of Charles II. for the awarding of writs of habeas-corpus, in caſes of commitment or detainer, for any criminal or ſuppoſed criminal matter, ſhould, in like manner, extend to all caſes where any perſon, not being committed or detained for any criminal or ſuppoſed criminal matter, ſhould be confined, or reſtrained of his or her liberty, under any colour or pretence whatſoever: that, upon oath made by ſuch perſon ſo confined or reſtrained, or by any other on his or her behalf, of any actual confinement or reſtraint, and that ſuch confinement or reſtraint, to the beſt of the knowledge and belief of the perſon ſo applying, was not by virtue of any commitment or detainer for any criminal or ſuppoſed criminal matter, an habeas-corpus, directed to the perſon or perſons ſo confining or reſtraining the party, as aforeſaid, ſhould be awarded and granted, in the ſame manner as is directed, and under the ſame penalties as are provided by the ſaid act, in the caſe of perſons committed and detained for any criminal or ſuppoſed criminal matter: that the perſon or perſons before whom the party ſo confined or reſtrained ſhould be brought, by virtue of any habeas-corpus granted in the vacation-time, under the authority of this act, might and ſhould, within three days after the return made, proceed to examine into the facts contained in ſuch return, and into the cauſe of

of ſuch confinement and reſtraint: and thereupon either diſcharge, or bail, or remand the parties ſo brought, as the caſe ſhould require, and as to juſtice ſhould appertain. The reſt of the bill related to the return of the writ in three days, and the penalties incurred by thoſe who ſhould neglect or refuſe to make the due return, or to comply with any other clauſe of this regulation. The Commons ſeemed hearty in rearing up this additional buttreſs to the liberty of their fellow-ſubjects, and paſſed the bill with the moſt laudable alacrity: but in the Houſe of Lords ſuch a great number of objections was ſtarted, that it ſunk at the ſecond reading, and the Judges were ordered to prepare a bill for the ſame purpoſe, to be laid before that Houſe in the next ſeſſion. CHAP. VIII. 1758.

§ XL. His Majeſty having recommended the care of the Foundling-Hoſpital to the Houſe of Commons, which chearfully granted forty thouſand pounds for the ſupport of that charity, the growing annual expence of it appeared worthy of further conſideration, and leave was granted to bring in a bill, for obliging all the pariſhes of England and Wales to keep regiſters of all their deaths, births, and marriages, that from theſe a fund might be raiſed towards the ſupport of the ſaid hoſpital. The bill was accordingly prepared by a committee appointed for the purpoſe; but before the Houſe could take the report into conſideration, the Parliament was prorogued. The proprietors of the privateer called the Antigallican, which had taken a rich French ſhip homeward-bound from China, and carried her into Cadiz, where the Spaniſh government had wreſted her by violence from the captors, and delivered her to the French owners, now preſented a petition to the Houſe of Commons, complaining of this interpoſition as an act of partiality and injuſtice: repreſenting the great expence at which the privateer had been equipped, the legality of the capture, the loſs and

BOOK III. 1752.

and hardſhips which they the petitioners had ſuſtained, and imploring ſuch relief as the Houſe ſhould think requiſite. Though theſe allegations were ſupported by a ſpecies of evidence that ſeemed ſtrong and convincing, and it might be thought incumbent on the Parliament to vindicate the honour of the nation, when thus inſulted by a foreign Power, the Houſe, upon this occaſion, treated the petition with the moſt mortifying neglect, either giving little credit to the aſſertions it contained, or unwilling to take any ſtep which might at this juncture embroil the nation with the Court of Spain on ſuch a frivolous ſubject. True it is, the Spaniſh government alledged, in their own juſtification, that the prize was taken under the guns of Corunna, inſomuch that the ſhot fired by the privateer entered that place, and damaged ſome houſes: but this allegation was never properly ſuſtained, and the prize was certainly condemned as legal by the Court of Admiralty at Gibraltar.

§ XLI. As we have already given a detail of the trial of Sir John Mordaunt, it will be unneceſſary to recapitulate any circumſtances of that affair, except ſuch as relate to its connexion with the proceedings of Parliament. In the beginning of this ſeſſion, Lord Barrington, as Secretary at War, informed the Houſe, by his Majeſty's command, that Lieutenant-General Sir John Mordaunt, a member of that Houſe, was in arreſt for diſobedience of his Majeſty's orders, while employed on the late expedition to the coaſt of France. The Commons immediately reſolved, That an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, returning him the thanks of this Houſe for his gracious meſſage of that day, in the communication he had been pleaſed to make of the reaſon for putting Lieutenant-General Sir John Mordaunt in arreſt. Among the various objects of commerce that employed the attention of the Houſe, one of the moſt conſiderable was the trade to the

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coaſt of Africa, for the protection of which an annual ſum had been granted for ſome years, to be expended in the maintenance and repairs of caſtles and factories. While a committee was employed in peruſing the accounts relating to the ſum granted in the preceding ſeſſion for this purpoſe, a petition from the committee of the African company, recommended in a meſſage from his Majeſty, was preſented to the Houſe, ſoliciting further aſſiſtance for the enſuing year. In the mean time, a remonſtrance was offered by certain planters and merchants, intereſted in trading to the Britiſh ſugar colonies in America, alledging, that the price of negroes was greatly advanced ſince the forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa had been under the direction of the committee of the company of merchants trading to that coaſt; a circumſtance that greatly diſtreſſed and alarmed the petitioners, prevented the cultivation of the Britiſh colonies, and was a great detriment to the trade and navigation of the kingdom: that this misfortune, they believed, was in ſome meaſure owing to the ruinous ſtate and condition of the forts and ſettlements: that, in their opinion, the moſt effectual method for maintaining the intereſt of that trade on a reſpectable footing, next to that of an incorporated joint-ſtock company, would be putting thoſe forts and ſettlements under the ſole direction of the commiſſioners for trade and plantations: that the preſervation or ruin of the American ſugar colonies went hand in hand with that of the ſlave trade to Africa: that, by an act paſſed in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty, for extending and improving this trade, the Britiſh ſubjects were debarred from lodging their ſlaves and merchandize in the forts and ſettlements on the coaſt: they, therefore, prayed that this part of the act might be repealed; that all Commanders of Britiſh and American veſſels, free merchants, and all other his Majeſty's ſubjects, who were ſettled, or might

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might at any time thereafter ſettle in Africa, ſhould have free liberty, from ſun-riſe to ſun-ſet, to enter the forts and ſettlements, and to depoſit their goods and merchandize in the warehouſes thereunto belonging; to ſecure their ſlaves or other purchaſes without paying any conſideration for the ſame; but the ſlaves to be victualled at the proper coſt and charge of their reſpective owners. The Houſe having taken this petition into conſideration, enquired into the proceedings of the company, and reviſed the act for extending and improving the trade to Africa, reſolved, That the committee of the African company had faithfully diſcharged the truſt repoſed in them, and granted ten thouſand pounds for maintaining the Britiſh forts and ſettlements in that part of the world. The enemy were perfectly well acquainted with the weakneſs of the Britiſh caſtles on the coaſt of Africa; and had they known as well how to execute with ſpirit, as to plan with ſagacity, the attempt which, in the courſe of the preceding year, they made upon the principal Britiſh fort in Guinea, would have ſucceeded, and all the other ſettlements would have fallen into their hands without oppoſition *.

* Robert Hunter Morris repreſented, in a petition to the Houſe, that as no ſalt was made in the Britiſh colonies in America, they were obliged to depend upon a precarious ſupply of that commodity from foreigners; he, therefore, offered to undertake the making of marine-ſalt at a moderate price in one of thoſe colonies, at his own riſque and charge, provided he could be ſecured in the enjoyment of the profits which the work might produce, for ſuch a term of years as might ſeem to the Houſe a proper and adequate compenſation for ſo great an undertaking. The petition was ordered to lie upon the table; afterwards read, and referred to a committee, which, however, made no report.—A circumſtance not eaſily accounted for, unleſs we ſuppoſe the Houſe of Commons were of opinion, that ſuch an enterprize might contribute towards rendering our colonies too independent of their mother-country. Equally unaccountable was the miſcarriage of another bill, brought in for regulating the manner of licenſing alehouſes, which was read for the firſt time: but when a motion was made for a ſecond reading, the queſtion was put, and it paſſed in the negative.

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§ XLII. The longeſt and warmeſt debate which was maintained in the courſe of this ſeſſion aroſe from a motion for leave to bring in a bill for ſhortening the term and duration of future Parliaments; a meaſure truly patriotick, againſt which no ſubſtantial argument could be produced, although the motion was rejected by the majority, on pretence, that, whilſt the nation was engaged in ſuch a dangerous and expenſive war, it would be improper to think of introducing ſuch an alteration in the form of government. Reaſons of equal ſtrength and ſolidity will never be wanting to the patrons and miniſters of corruption and venality. The alteration propoſed was nothing leſs than removing and annulling an encroachment which had been made on the conſtitution: it might have been effected without the leaſt pang or convulſion, to the general ſatisfaction of the nation: far from being unreaſonable at this juncture, it would have enhanced the national reputation abroad, and rendered the war more formidable to the enemies of Great-Britain, by convincing them that it was ſupported by a Miniſtry and Parliament, who ſtood upon ſuch good terms with the people. Indeed, a quick ſucceſſion of Parliaments might have diſconcerted, and perhaps expelled that ſpirit of confidence and generoſity which now ſo remarkably eſpouſed and gratified the Sovereign's predilection for the intereſt of Hanover. Other committees were eſtabliſhed, to enquire into the expence incurred by new lines and fortifications raiſed at Gibraltar; to examine the original ſtandards of weights and meaſures uſed in England; conſider the laws relating to them, and report their obſervations, together with their opinion of the moſt effectual means for aſcertaining and enforcing uniform ſtandards to be uſed for the future. The Commons were perfectly ſatisfied with the new works which had been raiſed at Gibraltar; and with reſpect to the weights and meaſures, the committee agreed to certain reſo-

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lutions, but no further progreſs was made in this enquiry, except an order for printing theſe reſolutions, with the appendix; however, as the boxes containing the ſtandards were ordered to be locked up by the clerk of the Houſe, in all probability their intention was to proceed on this ſubject in ſome future ſeſſion. On the ninth day of June ſundry bills received the Royal aſſent by commiſſion, his Majeſty being indiſpoſed; and on the twentieth day of the ſame month, the Lords commiſſioners cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech to both Houſes, expreſſing his Majeſty's deep ſenſe of their loyalty and good affection, demonſtrated in their late proceedings, in their zeal for his honour and real intereſt in all parts, in their earneſtneſs to ſurmount every difficulty, in their ardour to maintain the war with the utmoſt vigour; proofs which muſt convince mankind that the ancient ſpirit of the Britiſh nation ſtill ſubſiſted in its full force. They were given to underſtand that the King had taken all ſuch meaſures as appeared the moſt conducive to the accompliſhment of their publick-ſpirited views and wiſhes; that with their aſſiſtance, crowned by the bleſſing of God upon the conduct and bravery of the combined army, his Majeſty had been enabled, not only to deliver his dominions in Germany from the oppreſſions and devaſtations of the French, but alſo to puſh his advantages on this ſide the Rhine; that he had cemented the union between him and his good brother the King of Pruſſia, by new engagements; that the Britiſh fleets and armies were now actually employed in ſuch expeditions as appeared likely to annoy the enemy in the moſt ſenſible manner, and to promote the welfare and proſperity of theſe kingdoms; in particular, to preſerve the Britiſh rights and poſſeſſions in America, and to make France feel, in thoſe parts, the real ſtrength and importance of Great-Britain. The Commons were thanked for the ample ſupplies which they had ſo freely and unanimouſly given,

given, and assured on the part of his Majesty that they should be managed with the most frugal œconomy. They were desired, in consequence of the Kings earnest recommendation, to promote harmony and good agreement amongst his faithful subjects; to make the people acquainted with the rectitude and purity of his intentions and measures, and to exert themselves in maintaining the peace and good order of the country, by enforcing obedience to the laws and lawful authority.

§ XLIII. Never, surely, had any Sovereign more reason to be pleased with the conduct of his ministers, and the spirit of his people. The whole nation reposed the most unbounded confidence in the courage and discretion, as well as in the integrity of the minister, who seemed eager upon prosecuting the war with such vigour and activity as appeared almost unexampled in the annals of Great-Britain. New levies were made, new ships put in commission, fresh expeditions undertaken, and fresh conquests projected. Such was the credit of the administration, that people subscribed to the government loans with surprising eagerness. An unusual spirit of enterprise and resolution seemed to inspire all the individuals that constituted the army and navy; and the passion for military fame diffused itself through all ranks in the civil department of life, even to the very dregs of the populace: such a remarkable change from indolence to activity, from indifference to zeal, from timorous caution to fearless execution, was effected by the influence and example of an intelligent and intrepid minister, who, chagrined at the inactivity and disgraces of the preceding campaign, had, on a very solemn occasion, lately declared his belief that their was a determined resolution, both in the naval and military Commanders, against any vigorous exertion of the national power in the service of the country. He affirmed, that though his Majesty appeared ready to embrace every measure proposed by his ministers

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for the honour and intereſt of his Britiſh dominions, yet ſcarce a man could be found with whom the execution of any one plan in which there was the leaſt appearance of any danger could with confidence be truſted. He particulariſed the inactivity of one General in North-America, from whoſe abilities and perſonal bravery the nation had conceived great expectations: he complained, that this noble Commander had expreſſed the moſt contemptuous diſregard for the civil power, from which he derived his authority, by neglecting to tranſmit, for a conſiderable length of time, any other advice of his proceedings but what appeared on a written ſcrap of paper: he obſerved, that with a force by land and ſea greater than ever the nation had heretofore maintained, with a King and miniſtry ardently deſirous of redeeming her glory, ſuccouring her allies, and promoting her true intereſt, a ſhameful diſlike to the ſervice every where prevailed, and few ſeemed affected with any other zeal than that of aſpiring to the higheſt poſts, and graſping the largeſt ſalaries. The cenſure levelled at the Commander in America was founded on miſtake: the inactivity of that noble Lord was not more diſappointing to the miniſtry than diſagreeable to his own inclination. He uſed his utmoſt endeavours to anſwer the expectation of the publick, but his hands were effectually tied by an abſolute impoſſibility of ſucceſs, and his conduct ſtood juſtified in the eyes of his Sovereign. A particular and accurate detail of his proceedings he tranſmitted through a channel, which he imagined would have directly conveyed it to the foot of the throne; but the packet was ſaid to have been purpoſely intercepted and ſuppreſſed. Perhaps he was not altogether excuſable for having correſponded ſo ſlightly with the Secretary of State; but he was ſaid to have gone abroad in full perſuaſion that the miniſtry would be changed, and therefore his aſſiduities were principally directed to the great perſonage, who, in that caſe,

eaſe, would have ſuperintended and directed all the operations of the army. All ſorts of military preparations in founderies, docks, arſenals, raiſing and exerciſing troops, and victualling tranſports, were now carried on with ſuch diligence and diſpatch as ſeemed to promiſe an exertion that would ſoon obliterate the diſagreeable remembrance of paſt diſgrace. The beginning of the year was, however, a little clouded by a general concern for the death of his Majeſty's third daughter, the Princeſs Caroline, a lady of the moſt exemplary virtue and amiable character, who died at the age of forty-five, ſincerely regretted as a pattern of unaffected piety, and unbounded benevolence. CHAP. VIII. 1758.

§ XLIV. The Britiſh cruiſers kept the ſea during all the ſeverity of winter, in order to protect the commerce of the kingdom, and annoy that of the enemy. They exerted themſelves with ſuch activity, and their vigilance was attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that a great number of prizes were taken, and the trade of France almoſt totally extinguiſhed. A very gallant exploit was atchieved by one Captain Bray, Commander of the Adventure, a ſmall armed veſſel in the Government's ſervice: falling in with the Machault, a large privateer of Dunkirk, near Dungenneſs, he ran her a-board, faſtened her boltſprit to his capſtan, and, after a warm engagement, compelled her Commander to ſubmit. A French frigate of thirty-ſix guns was taken by Capt. Parker, in a new fire ſhip of inferior force. Divers privateers of the enemy were ſunk, burned or taken, and a great number of merchant-ſhips fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Nor was the ſucceſs of the Britiſh ſhips of war confined to the Engliſh Channel. At this period the board of Admiralty received information from Admiral Cotes in Jamaica, of an action which happened off the iſland of Hiſpaniola, in the month of October of the preceding year, between three Engliſh ſhips of war and a French ſquadron. Captain

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tain Forreſt, an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit in the ſervice, had, in the ſhip Auguſta, ſailed from Port-Royal in Jamaica, accompanied by the Dreadnought and Edinburgh, under the command of the Captains Suckling and Langdon. He was ordered to cruiſe off Cape François, and this ſervice he literally performed in the face of the French ſquadron under Kerſin, lately arrived at that place from the coaſt of Africa. This Commander, piqued at ſeeing himſelf thus inſulted by an inferior armament, reſolved to come forth and give them battle; and that he might either take them, or at leaſt drive them out of the ſeas, ſo as to afford a free paſſage to a great number of merchant-ſhips then lying at the Cape, bound for Europe, he took every precaution which he thought neceſſary to inſure ſucceſs. He reinforced his ſquadron with ſome ſtore ſhips, mounted with guns, and armed for the occaſion, and ſupplied the deficiency in his complements, by taking on board ſeamen from the merchant-ſhips, and ſoldiers from the garriſon. Thus prepared, he weighed anchor, and ſtood out to ſea, having under his command four large ſhips of the line, and three ſtout frigates. They were no ſooner perceived advancing, than Captain Forreſt held a ſhort council with his two Captains. "Gentlemen, (ſaid he,) you know our "own ſtrength, and ſee that of the enemy; ſhall we "give them battle?" They replying in the affirmative, he added, "Then fight them we will; "there is no time to be loſt; return to your ſhips, "and get them ready for engaging." After this laconick conſultation among theſe three gallant officers, they bore down upon the French ſquadron without further heſitation, and between three and four in the afternoon the action began with great impetuoſity. The enemy exerted themſelves with uncommon ſpirit, conſcious that their honour was peculiarly at ſtake, and that they fought in ſight, as it were, of their own coaſt, which was lined with people,

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ple, expecting to see them return in triumph. But, notwithstanding all their endeavours, their Commodore, after having sustained a severe engagement, that lasted two hours and a half, found his ship in such a shattered condition, that he made signal for one of his frigates to come and tow him out of the line. His example was followed by the rest of his squadron, which, by this assistance, with the favour of the land breeze and the approach of night, made shift to accomplish their escape from the three British ships, which were too much disabled in their masts and rigging to prosecute their victory. One of the French squadron was rendered altogether unserviceable for action; their loss in men amounted to three hundred killed, and as many wounded; whereas that of the English did not much exceed one third of this number. Nevertheless, they were so much damaged, that, being unable to keep the sea, they returned to Jamaica, and the French Commodore seised the opportunity of sailing with a great convoy for Europe. The courage of Captain Forrest was not more conspicuous in his engagement with the French squadron near Cape-François, than his conduct and sagacity in a subsequent adventure near Port-au-Prince, a French harbour, situated at the bottom of a bay on the western part of Hispaniola, behind the small island of Gonave. After M. de Kersin had taken his departure from Cape-François for Europe, Admiral Cotes, beating up to windward from Port-Royal in Jamaica with three ships of the line, received intelligence that there was a French fleet at Port-au-Prince, ready to sail on their return to Europe: Captain Forrest then presented the Admiral with a plan for an attack on this place, and urged it earnestly. This, however, was declined, and Captain Forrest directed to cruise off the island Gonave for two days only, the Admiral enjoining him to return at the expiration of the time, and rejoin the squadron at Cape Nicholas. Accordingly, Captain

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Forreſt, in the Auguſta, proceeded up the bay, between the iſland Gonave and Hiſpaniola, with a view to execute a plan which he had himſelf projected. Next day in the afternoon, though he perceived two ſloops, he forebore chaſing, that he might not riſque a diſcovery; for the ſame purpoſe he hoiſted Dutch colours, and diſguiſed his ſhip with tarpaulins. At five in the afternoon he diſcovered ſeven ſail of ſhips ſteering to the weſtward, and hauled from them, to avoid ſuſpicion; but at the approach of night gave chaſe with all the ſail he could carry. About ten he perceived two ſail, one of which fired a gun, and the other made the beſt of her way for Leoganne, another harbour in the bay. At this period Captain Forreſt reckoned eight ſail to leeward, near another port called Petit Goave; coming up with the ſhip which had fired the gun, ſhe ſubmitted without oppoſition, after he had hailed and told her Captain what he was, produced two of his largeſt cannon, and threatened to ſink her if ſhe ſhould give the leaſt alarm. He forthwith ſhifted the priſoners from this prize, and placed on board of her five-and-thirty of his own crew, with orders to ſtand for Petit Goave and intercept any of the fleet that might attempt to reach that harbour. Then he made ſail after the reſt, and in the dawn of the morning, finding himſelf in the middle of their fleet, he began to fire at them all in their turns, as he could bring his guns to bear, they returned the fire for ſome time; at length the Marguerite, the Solide, and the Theodore ſtruck their colours. Theſe being ſecured, were afterwards uſed in taking the Maurice, Le Grand, and La Flore; the Brilliant alſo ſubmitted, and the Mars made ſail, in hopes of eſcaping, but the Auguſta coming up with her about noon, ſhe likewiſe fell into the hands of the victor. Thus, by a well-conducted ſtratagem, a whole fleet of nine ſail were taken by a ſingle ſhip, in the neighbourhood of four or five harbours, in any one of which

they would have found immediate ſhelter and ſecurity. The prizes, which happened to be richly laden, were ſafely conveyed to Jamaica, and there ſold at publick auction, for the benefit of the captors, who may ſafely challenge hiſtory to produce ſuch another inſtance of ſucceſs.

§ XLV. The miniſtry having determined to make vigorous efforts againſt the enemy in North-America, Admiral Boſcawen was veſted with the command of the fleet deſtined for that ſervice, and ſailed from St. Helen's on the nineteenth day of February, when the Invincible, of ſeventy-four guns, one of the beſt ſhips that conſtituted his ſquadron, ran a-ground, and periſhed; but her men, ſtores, and artillery, were ſaved. In the courſe of the ſucceeding month, Sir Edward Hawke ſteered into the bay of Biſcay with another ſquadron, in order to intercept any ſupplies from France deſigned for Cape-Breton or Canada; and about the ſame time the town of Embden, belonging to his Pruſſian Majeſty, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, was ſuddenly retrieved by the conduct of Commodore Holmes, ſtationed on that coaſt, who ſent up two of his ſmall ſhips to anchor in the river between Knok and the city. The garriſon, amounting to three thouſand ſeven hundred men, finding themſelves thus cut off from all communication with the country below, abandoned the place with great precipitation, and ſome of their baggage being ſent off by water, was taken by the boats which the Commodore armed for that purpoſe. It was in the ſame month that the Admiralty received advice of another advantage by ſea, which had been gained by Admiral Oſborne, while he cruiſed between Cape de Gatt and Carthagena, on the coaſt of Spain. On the twenty-eighth day of March he fell in with a French ſquadron, commanded by the Marquis du Queſne, conſiſting of four ſhips, namely, the Foudroyant, of eighty guns, the Orphée, of ſixty-four, the Oriflamme,

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was

was followed close by another, which they could not help feeling with equal sensibility of mortification and chagrin. In the beginning of April, Sir Edward Hawke, steering with his squadron into Basque-road, on the coast of Poictou, discovered, off the isle of Aix, a French fleet at anchor, consisting of five ships of the line, with six frigates, and forty transports, having on board three thousand troops, and a large quantity of stores and provisions intended as a supply for their settlements in North-America. They no sooner saw the English Admiral advancing, than they began to slip their cables, and fly in the utmost confusion. Some of them escaped by sea, but a great number ran into shoal water, where they could not be pursued; and next morning they appeared a-ground, lying on their broadsides. Sir Edward Hawke, who had rode all night at anchor a-breast of the isle of Aix, furnished the ships Intrepid and Medway with trusty pilots, and sent them farther in when the flood began to make, with orders to sound a-head, that he might know whether there was any possibility of attacking the enemy, but the want of a sufficient depth of water rendered the scheme impracticable. In the mean time, the French threw over-board their cannon, stores, and ballast; and boats and launches from Rochefort were employed in carrying out warps, to drag their ships through the soft mud, as soon as they should be water-borne by the flowing-tide. By these means their large ships of war, and many of their transports, escaped into the river Charente; but their loading was lost, and the end of their equipment totally defeated. Another convoy of merchant-ships, under the protection of three frigates, Sir Edward Hawke, a few days before, had chased into the harbour of St. Martin's, in the isle of Rhé, where they still remained, waiting an opportunity for hazarding a second departure: a third, consisting of twelve sail, bound from Bourdeaux to Quebeck, under

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convoy of a frigate and armed veſſel, was encountered at ſea by one Britiſh ſhip of the line and two fire ſhips, which took the frigate and armed veſſel, and two of the convoy afterwards met with the ſame fate; but this advantage was over-balanced by the loſs of Captain James Hume, Commander of the Pluto fire ſhip, a brave accompliſhed officer, who, in an unequal combat with the enemy, refuſed to quit the deck, even when he was diſabled, and fell glorioufly, covered with wounds, exhorting the people, with his lateſt breath, to continue the engagement while the ſhip could ſwim, and acquit themſelves with honour in the ſervice of their country.

§ XLVI. On the twenty-ninth day of May the Raiſonable, a French ſhip of the line, mounted with ſixty-four cannon, having on board ſix hundred and thirty men, commanded by the Prince de Mombazon, Chevalier de Rohan, was, in her paſſage from Port l'Orient to Breſt, attacked by Captain Dennis, in the Dorſetſhire, of ſeventy guns, and taken after an obſtinate engagement, in which one hundred and ſixty men of the Prince's complement were killed or wounded, and he ſuſtained great damage in his hull, ſails, and rigging. Theſe ſucceſſes were moreover chequered by the tidings of a lamentable diſaſter that befel the ſhip Prince George, of eighty guns, commanded by Rear-Admiral Broderick, in his paſſage to the Mediterranean. On the thirteenth day of April, between one and two in the afternoon, a dreadful fire broke out in the fore part of the ſhip, and raged with ſuch fury, that notwithſtanding all the efforts of the officers and men for ſeveral hours, the flames increaſed, and the ſhip being conſumed to the water's edge, the remnant ſunk about ſix o'clock in the evening. The horror and conſternation of ſuch a ſcene are not eaſily deſcribed. When all endeavours proved fruitleſs, and no hope of preſerving the ſhip remained, the barge was hoiſted out for the preſervation of the Admiral, who entered it accordingly;

accordingly; but all diſtinction of perſons being now aboliſhed, the ſeamen ruſhed into it in ſuch crowds, that in a few moments it overſet. The Admiral, foreſeeing that this would be the caſe, ſtripped off his clothes, and committing himſelf to the mercy of the waves, was ſaved by the boat of a merchant-ſhip, after he had ſuſtained himſelf in the ſea a full hour by ſwimming. Captain Payton, who was the ſecond in command, remained upon the quarter-deck as long as it was poſſible to keep that ſtation, and then, deſcending by the ſtern ladder, had the good fortune to be taken into a boat belonging to the Alderney ſloop. The hull of the ſhip, maſts, and rigging, were now in a blaze, burſting tremendous in ſeveral parts through horrid clouds of ſmoak; nothing was heard but the cracking of the flames, mingled with the diſmal cries of terror and diſtraction; nothing was ſeen but acts of phrenzy and deſperation. The miſerable wretches, affrighted at the horrors of ſuch a conflagration, ſought a fate leſs dreadful, by plunging into the ſea, and about three hundred men were preſerved by the boats belonging to ſome ſhips that accompanied the Admiral in his voyage, but five hundred periſhed in the ocean. CHAP. VIII. 1758.

§ XLVII. The King of Great-Britain being determined to renew his attempt upon the coaſt of France, ordered a very formidable armament to be equipped for that purpoſe. Two powerful ſquadrons by ſea were deſtined for the ſervice of this expedition, the firſt, conſiſting of eleven great ſhips, was commanded by Lord Anſon and Sir Edward Hawke: the other, compoſed of four ſhips of the line, ſeven frigates, ſix ſloops, two fire-ſhips, two bombs, ten cutters, twenty tenders, ten ſtore-ſhips, and one hundred tranſports, was put under the direction of Commodore Howe, who had ſignaliſed himſelf by his gallantry and conduct in the courſe of the laſt fruitleſs expedition. The plan of a deſcent

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ſcent upon France having been adopted by the miniſtry, a body of troops, conſiſting of ſixteen regiments, nine troops of light horſe, and ſix thouſand marines, was aſſembled for the execution of this deſign, and embarked under the command of the Duke of Marlborough; a nobleman, who, though he did not inherit all the military genius of his grandfather, yet far excelled him in the amiable and ſocial qualities of the heart: he was brave beyond all queſtion, generous to profuſion, and good-natured to exceſs. On this occaſion he was aſſiſted by the councils of Lord George Sackville, ſecond in command, ſon to the Duke of Dorſet; an officer of experience and reputation, who had, in the civil departments of government, exhibited proofs of extraordinary genius and uncommon application. The troops, having been encamped for ſome time upon the Iſle of Wight, were embarked in the latter end of May, and the two fleets ſailed in the beginning of June for the coaſt of Bretagne, leaving the people of England fluſhed with the gayeſt hopes of victory and conqueſt. The two fleets parted at ſea: Lord Anſon, with his ſquadron, proceeded to the bay of Biſcay, in order to watch the motions of the enemy's ſhips, and haraſs their navigation; while Commodore Howe, with the land-forces, ſteered directly towards St. Maloes, a ſtrong place of conſiderable commerce, ſituated on the coaſt of Bretagne, againſt which the purpoſed invaſion ſeemed to be chiefly intended. The town, however, was found too well fortified, both by art and nature, to admit of an attempt by ſea with any proſpect of ſucceſs; and, therefore, it was reſolved to make a deſcent in the neighbourhood. After the fleet had been, by contrary winds, detained ſeveral days in ſight of the French coaſt, it arrived in the bay of Cancalle, about two leagues to the eaſtward of St. Maloes, and Mr. Howe having ſilenced a ſmall battery which the enemy had occaſionally raiſed upon

upon the beach, the troops were landed, without further oppoſition, on the ſixth day of June. The Duke of Marlborough immediately began his march towards St. Servan, with a view to deſtroy ſuch ſhipping and magazines as might be in any acceſſible parts of the river; and this ſcheme was executed with ſucceſs. A great quantity of naval ſtores, two ſhips of war, ſeveral privateers, and about fourſcore veſſels of different ſorts, were ſet on fire and reduced to aſhes, almoſt under the cannon of the place, which, however, they could not pretend to beſiege in form. His Grace having received repeated advices that the enemy were buſily employed in aſſembling forces to march againſt him, returned to Cancalle, where Mr. Howe had made ſuch a maſterly diſpoſition of the boats and tranſports, that the re-embarkation of the troops was performed with ſurpriſing eaſe and expedition. The forces, while they remained on ſhore, were reſtrained from all outrages by the moſt ſevere diſcipline; and the French houſes, which their inhabitants had abandoned, were left untouched. Immediately after their landing, the Duke of Marlborough, as Commander in chief, publiſhed and diſtributed a manifeſto, addreſſed to the people of Bretagne, giving them to underſtand, that his deſcent upon the coaſt was not effected with a deſign to make war on the inhabitants of the open country, except ſuch as ſhould be found in arms, or otherwiſe oppoſing the operations of his Britannick Majeſty: that all who were willing to continue in peaceable poſſeſſion of their effects, might remain unmoleſted in their reſpective dwellings, and follow their uſual occupations: that, beſides the cuſtoms and taxes they uſed to pay to their own King, nothing ſhould be required of them but what was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the army; and that, for all proviſions brought in, they ſhould be paid in ready money. He concluded this notice with declaring, that

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that if, notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances of protection, they ſhould carry off their effects and proviſions, and abandon the places of their habitation, he would treat them as enemies, and deſtroy their houſes with fire and ſword. To the magiſtracy of St. Maloes he likewiſe ſent a letter, importing, that as all the inhabitants of the towns and villages between Dinant, Rennes, and Doll, now in his poſſeſſion, had deſerted their habitations, probably to avoid the payment of the uſual contributions; and he being informed that the magiſtrates had compelled the people of the country to retire into the town of St. Maloes; he now gave them notice, that if they did not immediately ſend them back to their houſes, and come themſelves to his head-quarters, to ſettle the contributions, he ſhould think himſelf obliged to proceed to military execution. Theſe threats, however, were not put in force, although the magiſtrates of St. Maloes did not think proper to comply with his injunction. But it was found altogether impoſſible to prevent irregularities among troops that were naturally licentious. Some houſes were pillaged, and not without acts of barbarity: but the offenders were brought to immediate juſtice; and it muſt be owned, as an inconteſtable proof of the General's humanity, that in deſtroying the magazines of the enemy at St. Servan, which may be termed the ſuburbs of St. Maloes, he ordered one ſmall ſtorehouſe to be ſpared, becauſe it could not be ſet on fire without endangering the whole diſtrict. The Britiſh forces being re-embarked, including about five hundred light-horſe, which had been diſciplined and carried over with a view to ſcour the country, the fleet was detained by contrary winds in the bay of Cancalle for ſeveral days, during which a deſign ſeems to have been formed for attacking Granville, which had been reconnoitred by ſome of the engineers: but, in conſequence of their report, the ſcheme was laid aſide, and the fleet ſtood out to ſea, where it was expoſed

to

to ſome rough weather. In a few days, the wind blowing in a northern direction, they ſteered again towards the French coaſt, and ran in with the land near Havre-de-Grace, where the flat bottomed boats, provided for landing, were hoiſted out, and a ſecond diſembarkation expected. But the wind blowing violently towards the evening, the boats were re-ſhipped, and the fleet obliged to quit the land, in order to avoid the dangers of a lee-ſhore. Next day, the weather being more moderate, they returned to the ſame ſtation, and orders were given to prepare for a deſcent; but the Duke of Marlborough having taken a view of the coaſt, in an open cutter, accompanied by Commodore Howe, thought proper to wave the attempt. Their next ſtep was to bear away before the wind for Cherbourg, in the neighbourhood of which place the fleet came to anchor. Here ſome of the tranſports received the fire of ſix different batteries; and a conſiderable body of troops appeared in arms to diſpute the landing; nevertheleſs, the General reſolved that the forts Querqueville, l'Hommet, and Gallet ſhould be attacked in the night by the firſt regiment of guards. The ſoldiers were actually diſtributed in the flat-bottomed boats, and every preparation made for this enterprize, when the wind began to blow with ſuch violence, that the troops could not be landed without the moſt imminent danger and difficulty, nor properly ſuſtained in caſe of a repulſe, even if the diſembarkation could have been effected. This attempt, therefore, was laid aſide, but at the ſame time a reſolution taken to ſtand in towards the ſhore with the whole fleet, to cover a general landing. A diſpoſition was made accordingly; but the ſtorm increaſing, the tranſports ran foul of each other, and the ſhips were expoſed to all the perils of a lee-ſhore, for the gale blew directly upon the coaſt; beſides, the proviſions began to fail, and the hay for the horſes was almoſt conſumed. Theſe con-

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§ XLVIII. The deſigns upon the coaſt of France, though interrupted by tempeſtuous weather, were not as yet laid aſide for the whole ſeaſon: but, in the mean time, the troops were diſembarked on the Iſle of Wight; and one brigade marched to the northward, to join a body of troops, with which the government reſolved to augment the army of the Allies in Germany, commanded by Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick. The Duke of Marlborough and Lord George Sackville being appointed to conduct this Britiſh corps upon the continent, the command of the marine expeditions devolved to Lieutenant-General Bligh, an old experienced officer, who had ſerved with reputation; and his Royal Highneſs Prince Edward, afterwards created Duke of York, entered as a volunteer with Commodore Howe, in order to learn the rudiments of the ſea-ſervice. The remainder of the troops being re-embarked, and every thing prepared for the ſecond expedition, the fleet ſailed from St. Helen's on the firſt of Auguſt

guſt; and after a tedious paſſage from calms and contrary winds, anchored on the ſeventh in the bay of Cherbourg. By this time the enemy had entrenched themſelves within a line, extending from the fort Ecœurdeville, which ſtands about two miles to the weſtward of Cherbourg, along the coaſt for the ſpace of four miles, fortified with ſeveral batteries at proper diſtances. Behind this retrenchment a body of horſe and infantry appeared in red and blue uniforms; but as they did not advance to the open beach, the leſs riſque was run in landing the Britiſh forces. At firſt a bomb-ketch had been ſent to anchor near the town, and throw ſome ſhells into the place, as a feint to amuſe the enemy, and deceive them with regard to the place of diſembarkation, while the General had determined to land about a league to the weſtward of Querqueville, the moſt weſtern fort in the bay. The other bomb-ketches, being poſted along ſhore, did conſiderable execution upon the entrenchments, not only by throwing ſhells in the uſual way, but alſo by uſing ball-mortars, filled with great quantities of balls, which may be thrown to a great diſtance, and, by ſcattering as they fly, do abundance of miſchief. While the ketches fired without ceaſing, the grenadiers and guards were rowed regularly aſhore in the flat-bottomed boats, and, landing without oppoſition, inſtantly formed, on a ſmall open portion of the beach, with a natural breaſt-work in their front, having on the other ſide a hollow way, and a village riſing beyond it with a ſudden aſcent: on the left, the ground was interſected by hedges, and covered with orchards, and from this quarter the enemy advanced in order. The Britiſh troops immediately quitted the breaſt-work, in order to meet them half way, and a ſtraggling fire began; but the French edging to the left, took poſſeſſion of the hill, from whence they piqueered with the advanced poſts of the Engliſh. In the mean time, the reſt of the in-

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fantry were diſembarked, and the enemy at night retired. As the light troops were not yet landed, General Bligh encamped that night at the village of Erville, on a piece of ground that did not extend above four hundred paces; ſo that the tents were pitched in a crowded and irregular manner. Next morning, the General having received intelligence that no parties of the enemy were ſeen moving on the hill, or in the plain, and that fort Querqueville was entirely abandoned, made a diſpoſition for marching in two columns to Cherbourg. An advanced party took immediate poſſeſſion of Querqueville; and the lines and batteries along the ſhore were now deſerted by the enemy. The Britiſh forces marching behind St. Aulne, Ecœurdeville, Hommet, and La Galet, found the town of Cherbourg likewiſe abandoned, and the gates being open, entered it without oppoſition. The citizens, encouraged by a manifeſto containing a promiſe of protection, which had been publiſhed and diſtributed, in order to quiet their apprehenſions, received their new gueſts with a good grace, overwhelming them with civilities, for which they met with a very ungrateful return; for as the bulk of the army was not regularly encamped and ſuperintended, the ſoldiers were at liberty to indulge themſelves in riot and licentiouſneſs. All night long they ravaged the adjacent country without reſtraint; and as no guards had been regularly placed in the ſtreets and avenues of Cherbourg, to prevent diſorders, the town itſelf was not exempted from pillage and brutality. Theſe outrages, however, were no ſooner known, than the General took immediate ſteps for putting a ſtop to them for the preſent, and preventing all irregularities for the future. Next morning the place being reconnoitred, he determined to deſtroy, without delay, all the forts and the baſon; and the execution of this deſign was left to the engineers, aſſiſted by the officers of the

fleet and artillery. Great ſums of money had been expended upon the harbour and baſon of Cherbourg, which at one time was conſidered by the French Court as an object of great importance, from its ſituation reſpecting the river Seine, as well as the oppoſite coaſt of England; but as the works were left unfiniſhed, in all appearance the plan had grown into diſreputation. The enemy had raiſed ſeveral unconnected batteries along the bay; but the town itſelf was quite open and defenceleſs. While the engineers were employed in demoliſhing the works, the light-horſe ſcoured the country, and detachments were every day ſent out towards Walloign, at the diſtance of four leagues from Cherbourg, where the enemy were encamped, and every hour received reinforcements. Several ſkirmiſhes were fought by the out-parties of each army, in one of which Capt. Lindſay, a gallant young officer, who had been very inſtrumental in training the light-horſe, was mortally wounded. The harbour and baſon of Cherbourg being deſtroyed, together with all the forts in the neighbourhood, and about twenty pieces of braſs cannon ſecured on board the Engliſh ſhips, a contribution, amounting to about three thouſand pounds ſterling, was exacted upon the town, and a plan of re-embarkation concerted; as it appeared from the reports of peaſants and deſerters, that the enemy were already increaſed to a formidable number. A ſlight entrenchment being raiſed, ſufficient to defend the laſt diviſion that ſhould be re-embarked, the ſtores and artillery were ſhipped, and the light horſes conveyed on board their reſpective tranſports, by means of platforms laid in the flat-bottomed veſſels. On the ſixteenth day of Auguſt, at three o'clock in the morning, the forces marched from Cherbourg down to the beach, and re-embarked at Fort Galet, without the leaſt diſturbance from the enemy.

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XLIX. This ſervice being happily performed, the fleet ſet ſail for the coaſt of England, and an-

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chored in the road of Weymouth, under the high land of Portland. In two days it weighed and ſtood again to the ſouthward; but was obliged, by contrary winds, to return to the ſame riding. The ſecond effort, however, was more effectual. The fleet with ſome difficulty kept the ſea, and ſteering to the French coaſt, came to anchor in the bay of St. Lunaire, two leagues to the weſtward of St. Maloes, againſt which it was determined to make another attempt. The ſloops and ketches being ranged along ſhore to cover the diſembarkation, the troops landed on a fair open beach, and a detachment of grenadiers was ſent to the harbour of St. Briac, above the town of St. Maloes, where they deſtroyed about fifteen ſmall veſſels: but St. Maloes itſelf being properly ſurveyed, appeared to be above inſult, either from the land-forces or the ſhipping. The mouth of the river that forms its baſon, extends above two miles in breadth at its narroweſt part, ſo as to be out of the reach of land batteries, and the entrance is defended by ſuch forts and batteries as the ſhips of war could not pretend to ſilence, conſidering the difficult navigation of the channels; beſides fifty pieces of large cannon planted on theſe forts and batteries, the enemy had mounted forty on the weſt ſide of the town; and the baſon was, moreover, ſtrengthened by ſeven frigates or armed veſſels, whoſe guns might have been brought to bear upon any batteries that could be raiſed on ſhore, as well as upon ſhips entering by the uſual channel. For theſe ſubſtantial reaſons the deſign againſt St. Maloes was dropped; but the General being unwilling to re-embark, without having taken ſome ſtep for the further annoyance of the enemy, reſolved to penetrate into the country, conducting his motions, however, ſo as to be near the fleet, which had, by this time, quitted the bay of St. Lunaire, where it could not ride with any ſafety, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the weſtward.

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§ L. On Friday the eighth of September, General Bligh, with his little army, began his march for Guildo, at the diſtance of nine miles, which he reached in the evening: next day he croſſed a little gut or inlet of the ſea, at low water, and his troops being incommoded by the peaſants, who fired at them from hedges and houſes, he ſent a prieſt with a meſſage, intimating, that if they would not deſiſt, he would reduce their houſes to aſhes. No regard being paid to this intimation, the houſes were actually ſet on fire as ſoon as the troops had formed their camp about two miles on the other ſide of the inlet. Next morning he proceeded to the village of Matignon, where, after ſome ſmart ſkirmiſhing, the French piquets appeared, drawn up in order, to the number of two battalions; but having ſuſtained a few ſhot from the Engliſh field-pieces, and ſeeing the grenadiers advance, they ſuddenly diſperſed. General Bligh continuing his route through the village, encamped in the open ground, about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, which was this day reconnoitred for re-embarkation: for he now received undoubted intelligence, that the Duke d'Aiguillon had advanced from Breſt to Lambale, within ſix miles of the Engliſh camp, at the head of twelve regular battalions, ſix ſquadrons, two regiments of militia, eight mortars, and ten pieces of cannon. The bay of St. Cas was covered by an entrenchment which the enemy had thrown up, to prevent or oppoſe any diſembarkation; and on the outſide of this work there was a range of ſand-hills extending along ſhore, which could have ſerved as a cover to the enemy, from whence they might have annoyed the troops in re-embarking: for this reaſon a propoſal was made to the General, that the forces ſhould be re-embarked from a fair open beach on the left, between St. Cas and Guildo; but this advice was rejected, and, indeed, the ſubſequent operations of the army favoured ſtrongly of blind ſecurity

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and raſh preſumption. Had the troops decamped in the night without noiſe, in all probability they would have arrived at the beach before the French had received the leaſt intelligence of their motion; and, in that caſe, the whole army, conſiſting of about ſix thouſand men, might have been re-embarked without the leaſt interruption: but, inſtead of this cautious manner of proceeding, the drums were beaten at two o'clock in the morning, as if with intention to give notice to the enemy, who forthwith repeated the ſame ſignal. The troops were in motion before three, and though the length of the march did not exceed three miles, the halts and interruptions were ſo numerous and frequent, that they did not arrive on the beach of St. Cas till nine. Then the embarkation was begun, and might have been happily finiſhed, had the tranſports lain near the ſhore, and received the men as faſt as the boats could have conveyed them on board, without diſtinction; but many ſhips rode at a conſiderable diſtance, and every boat carried the men on board the reſpective tranſports to which they belonged; a punctilio of diſpoſition by which a great deal of time was unneceſſarily conſumed. The ſmall ſhips and bomb-ketches were brought near the ſhore, to cover the embarkation; and a conſiderable number of ſea-officers were ſtationed on the beach, to ſuperintend the boats' crews, and regulate the ſervice; but, notwithſtanding all their attention and authority, ſome of the boats were otherwiſe employed than in conveying the unhappy ſoldiers. Had all the cutters and ſmall craft belonging to the fleet been properly occupied in this ſervice, the diſgrace and diſaſter of the day would ſcarce have happened. The Britiſh forces had ſkirmiſhed a little on the march, but no conſiderable body of the enemy appeared until the embarkation was begun; then they took poſſeſſion of an eminence by a windmill, and forthwith opened a battery of ten cannon and eight

eight mortars, from whence they fired with conſider- CHAP. VIII.
able effect upon the ſoldiers on the beach, and on the boats in their paſſage. They afterwards began to march down the hill, partly covered by a hollow way on their left, with a deſign to gain a wood, where they might form and extend themſelves along the front of the Engliſh, and advance againſt them under ſhelter of the ſand-hills; but in their deſcent they ſuffered extremely from the cannon and mortars of the ſhipping, which made great havock and threw them into confuſion. Their line of march down the hill was ſtaggered, and for ſome time continued in ſuſpenſe; then they turned off to one ſide, extended themſelves along a hill to their left, and advanced in a hollow way, from whence they ſuddenly ruſhed out to the attack. Though the greater part of the Britiſh troops were already embarked, the rear-guard, conſiſting of all the grenadiers, and half of the firſt regiment of guards, remained on the ſhore, to the number of fifteen hundred, under the command of Major-General Dury. This officer, ſeeing the French advance, ordered his troops to form in grand diviſions, and march from behind the bank that covered them, in order to charge the enemy before they could be formed on the plain. Had this ſtep been taken when it was firſt ſuggeſted to Mr. Dury, before the French were diſengaged from the hollow way, perhaps it might have ſo far ſucceeded as to diſconcert and throw them into confuſion: but by this time they had extended themſelves into a very formidable front, and no hope remained of being able to withſtand ſuch a ſuperior number. Inſtead of attempting to fight againſt ſuch odds in an open field of battle, they might have retreated along the beach to a rock on the left, in which progreſs their right flank would have been ſecured by the entrenchment; and the enemy could not have purſued them along the ſhore, without being expoſed to ſuch a fire from the

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the ſhipping, as in all probability they could not have ſuſtained. This ſcheme was likewiſe propoſed to Mr. Dury; but he ſeemed to be actuated by a ſpirit of infatuation. The Engliſh line being drawn up in uneven ground, began the action with an irregular fire from right to left, which the enemy returned; but their uſual fortitude and reſolution ſeemed to forſake them on this occaſion. They ſaw themſelves in danger of being ſurrounded and cut in pieces; their officers dropped on every ſide; and all hope of retreat was now intercepted. In this cruel dilemma, their ſpirits failed; they were ſeized with a panick; they faultered, they broke; and in leſs than five minutes after the engagement began they fled in the utmoſt confuſion, purſued by the enemy, who no ſooner ſaw them give way than they fell in among them with their bayonets fixed, and made a great carnage. General Dury being dangerouſly wounded, ran into the ſea, where he periſhed; and this was the fate of a great number, officers as well as ſoldiers. Many ſwam towards the boats and veſſels, which were ordered to give them all manner of aſſiſtance; but by far the greater number were either butchered on the beach, or drowned in the water: a ſmall body, however, inſtead of throwing themſelves into the ſea, retired to the rock on the left, where they made a ſtand, until they had exhauſted their ammunition, and then ſurrendered at diſcretion. The havock was moreover increaſed by the ſhot and ſhells diſcharged from the battery which the enemy had raiſed on the hill. The ſlaughter would not have been ſo great, had not the French ſoldiers been exaſperated by the fire from the frigates, which was ſtill maintained even after the Engliſh troops were routed: but this was no ſooner ſilenced by a ſignal from the Commodore, than the enemy exhibited a noble example of moderation and humanity, in granting immediate quarter and protection to the vanquiſhed. About one thouſand

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chosen men of the English army were killed and taken prisoners on this occasion: nor was the advantage cheaply purchased by the French troops, among whom the shot and shells from the frigates and ketches had done great execution. The clemency of the victors was the more remarkable, as the British troops in this expedition had been shamefully guilty of marauding, pillaging, burning, and other excesses. War is so dreadful in itself, and so severe in its consequences, that the exercise of generosity and compassion, by which its horrors are mitigated, ought ever to be applauded, encouraged, and imitated. We ought also to use our best endeavours to deserve this treatment at the hands of a civilized enemy. Let us be humane in our turn to those whom the fate of war had subjected to our power: let us, in prosecuting our military operations, maintain the most rigid discipline among the troops, and religiously abstain from all acts of violence and oppression. Thus, a laudable emulation will undoubtedly ensue, and the powers at war vie with each other in humanity and politeness. In other respects, the Commander of an invading armament will always find his account in being well with the common people of the country in which the descent is made. By civil treatment and seasonable gratifications, they will be encouraged to bring into the camp regular supplies of provision and refreshment; they will mingle with the soldiers, and even form friendships among them: serve as guides, messengers, and interpreters; let out their cattle for hire as draft-horses; work with their own persons as day-labourers; discover proper fords, bridges, roads, passes, and defiles; and, if artfully managed, communicate many useful hints of intelligence. If great care and circumspection be not exerted in maintaining discipline, and bridling the licentious disposition of the soldiers, such invasions will be productive of nothing but miscarriage and disgrace: for this, at best,

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beſt, is but a piratical way of carrying on war: and the troops engaged in it are, in ſome meaſure, debauched by the nature of the ſervice. They are crowded together in tranſports, where the minute particulars of military order cannot be obſerved, even though the good of the ſervice greatly depends upon a due obſervance of theſe forms. The ſoldiers grow negligent, and inattentive to cleanneſs and the exterior ornaments of dreſs: they become ſlovenly, ſlothful, and altogether unfit for a return of duty: they are tumbled about occaſionally in ſhips and boats, landed and re-embarked in a tumultuous manner, under a divided and diſorderly command: they are accuſtomed to retire at the firſt report of an approaching enemy, and to take ſhelter on another element; nay, their ſmall pillaging parties are often obliged to fly before unarmed peaſants. Their duty on ſuch occaſions is the moſt unmanly part of a ſoldier's office; namely, to ruin, ravage, and deſtroy. They ſoon yield to the temptation of pillage, and are habituated to rapine: they give looſe to intemperance, riot, and intoxication; commit a thouſand exceſſes; and, when the enemy appears, run on board the ſhips with their booty. Thus the dignity of the ſervice is debaſed: they loſe all ſenſe of honour and of ſhame: they are no longer reſtricted by military laws, nor over-awed by the authority of officers: in a word, they degenerate into a ſpecies of lawleſs buccaneers. From ſuch a total relaxation of morals and diſcipline, what can enſue but riot, confuſion, diſhonour and defeat? All the advantage that can be expected from theſe ſudden ſtarts of invaſion, will ſcarce over-balance the evils we have mentioned, together with the extraordinary expence of equipping armaments of this nature. True it is, theſe deſcents oblige the French King to employ a conſiderable number of his troops for the defence of his maritime places: they ſerve to ruin the trade of his ſubjects, protect the navigation

tion of Great-Britain, and ſecure its coaſt from in- CHAP. VIII.
vaſion; but theſe purpoſes might be as effectually anſwered, at a much ſmaller expence, by the ſhipping alone. Should it be judged expedient, however, to proſecute this deſultory kind of war, the Commanders employed in it will do well to conſider, that a deſcent ought never to be hazarded in an enemy's country, without having taken proper precautions to ſecure a retreat; that the ſevereſt diſcipline ought to be preſerved during all the operations of the campaign; that a General ought never to diſembark but upon a well-concerted plan, nor commence his military tranſactions without ſome immediate point or object in view; that a re-embarkation ought never to be attempted, except from a clear open beach, where the approaches of an enemy may be ſeen, and the troops covered by the fire of their ſhipping. Thoſe who preſume to reflect upon the particulars of this laſt expedition, owned themſelves at a loſs to account for the conduct of the General, in remaining on ſhore after the deſign upon St. Maloes was laid aſide; in penetrating ſo far into the country, without any viſible object; neglecting the repeated intelligence which he received; communicating, by beat of drum, his midnight motions to an enemy of double his force; loitering near ſeven hours in a march of three miles; and, laſtly, attempting the re-embarkation of the troops at a place where no proper meaſures had been taken for their cover and defence. After the action of St. Cas, ſome civilities, by meſſage, paſſed between the Duke d'Aiguillon and the Engliſh Commanders who were favoured with a liſt of the priſoners, including four Sea-captains; and aſſured that the wounded ſhould receive all poſſible comfort and aſſiſtance. Theſe matters being adjuſted, Commodore Howe returned with the fleet to Spithead, and the ſoldiers were diſembarked. 1758.

§ LI.

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§ LI. The ſucceſs of the attempt upon Cherbourg had elevated the people to a degree of childiſh triumph; and the government thought proper to indulge this petulant ſpirit of exultation, by expoſing twenty-one pieces of French cannon in Hyde-park, from whence they were drawn in poſſeſſion to the Tower, amidſt the acclamations of the populace. From this pinnacle of elation and pride they were precipitated to the abyſs of deſpondence or dejection, by the account of the miſcarriage at St. Cas, which buoyed up the ſpirits of the French in the ſame proportion. The people of that nation began to ſtand in need of ſome ſuch cordial after the loſſes they had ſuſtained, and the miniſtry of Verſailles did not fail to make the moſt of this advantage, they publiſhed a pompous narrative of the battle at St. Cas, and magnified into a mighty victory the puny check which they had given to the rear-guard of an inconſiderable detachment. The people received it with implicit belief, becauſe it was agreeable to their paſſions, and congratulated themſelves upon their ſucceſs in hyperboles, dictated by that vivacity ſo peculiar to the French nation. Indeed, theſe are artifices which the miniſters of every nation find it neceſſary to uſe at certain conjunctures, in governing the turbulent and capricious multitude. After the misfortune at St. Cas, nothing further was attempted by that armament; nor was any enterprize of importance atchieved by the Britiſh ſhips in Europe during the courſe of this ſummer. The cruiſers, however, ſtill continued active and alert. Captain Hervey, in the ſhip Monmouth, deſtroyed a French ſhip of forty guns in the iſland of Malta; an exploit of which the Malteſe loudly complained, as a violation of their neutrality. About twenty ſail of ſmall French veſſels were driven aſhore on the rocks of Bretagne, by ſome cruiſers belonging to the fleet commanded by Lord Anſon, after a ſmart engagement with two frigates, under whoſe convoy they

they ſailed. In the month of November the Belli- CHAP. VIII.
queux, a French ſhip of war, mounted with ſixty- 1758.
four guns, having, by miſtake, run up St. George's channel, and anchored in Lundy-road, Captain Saumarez, of the Antelope, then lying in King-road, immediately weighed and went in queſt of her, according to the advice he had received. When he appeared, the French Captain heaved up his anchor, and made a ſhow of preparing for an engagement; but ſoon hauled down his colours, and, without firing a ſhot, ſurrendered, with a complement of four hundred and ſeventeen men, to a ſhip of inferior force, both in number of hands and weight of metal. By this time the Engliſh privateers ſwarmed to ſuch a degree in the Channel, that ſcarce a French veſſel durſt quit the harbour, and conſequently there was little or no booty to be obtained. In this dearth of legal prizes, ſome of the adventurers were tempted to commit acts of piracy, and actually rifled the ſhips of neutral nations. A Dutch veſſel, having on board the baggage and domeſticks belonging to the Marquis de Pignatelli, Ambaſſador from the Court of Spain to the King of Denmark, was boarded three times ſucceſſively by the crews of three different privateers, who forced the hatches, rummaged the hold, broke open and rifled the trunks and boxes of the Ambaſſador, inſulted and even cruelly bruiſed his officers, ſtripped his domeſticks, and carried off his effects, together with letters of credit, and a bill of exchange. Complaints of theſe outrages being made to the Court of London, the Lords of the Admiralty promiſed, in the Gazette, a reward of five hundred pounds, without deduction, to any perſon who ſhould diſcover the offenders concerned in theſe acts of piracy. Some of them were detected accordingly, and brought to condign puniſhment.

§ LII. The Dutch had for ſome time carried on a very conſiderable traffick, not only in taking the fair

BOOK III. 1752.

fair advantages of their neutrality, but alſo in ſupplying the French with naval ſtores, and tranſporting the produce of the French ſugar-colonies to Europe, as carriers hired by the proprietors. The Engliſh government, incenſed at this unfair commerce, proſecuted with ſuch flagrant partiality for their enemies, iſſued orders for the cruiſers to arreſt all ſhips of neutral Powers that ſhould have French property on board; and theſe orders were executed with rigour and ſeverity. A great number of Dutch ſhips were taken, and condemned as legal prizes, both in England and Jamaica: ſometimes the owners met with hard meaſure, and ſome crews were treated with inſolence and barbarity. The ſubjects of the United Provinces raiſed a loud clamour againſt the Engliſh, for having, by theſe captures, violated the law of nations, and the particular treaty of commerce ſubſiſting between Great-Britain and the Republick. Remonſtrances were made to the Engliſh Miniſtry, who expoſtulated, in their turn, with the Deputies of the States-General; and the two nations were inflamed againſt each other with the moſt bitter animoſity. The Britiſh Reſident at the Hague, in a conference with the States, repreſented, that the King his maſter could not hope to ſee peace ſpeedily re-eſtabliſhed, if the neutral Princes ſhould aſſume a right of carrying on the trade of his enemies; that he expected, from their known juſtice, and the alliance by which they were ſo nearly connected with his ſubjects, they would honeſtly abandon this fraudulent commerce, and agree that naval ſtores ſhould be comprehended in the claſs of contraband commodities. He anſwered ſome articles of the complaints they had made with an appearance of candour and moderation; declared his Majeſty's abhorrence of the violences which had been committed upon the ſubjects of the United Provinces; explained the ſteps which had been taken by the Engliſh government to bring the offenders to juſtice, as well as

as to prevent ſuch outrages for the future; and aſ- CHAP. VIII.
ſured them, that his Britannick Majeſty had nothing more at heart than to renew and maintain, in full force, the mutual confidence and friendſhip by which the maritime Powers of England and Holland had been ſo long united. 1758.

§ LIII. Theſe profeſſions of eſteem and affection were not ſufficient to quiet the minds, and appeaſe the reſentment of the Dutch merchants; and the French party, which was both numerous and powerful, employed all their art and influence to exaſperate their paſſions, and widen the breach between the two nations. The Court of Verſailles did not fail to ſeize this opportunity of inſinuation: while, on one hand, their miniſters and emiſſaries in Holland exaggerated the indignities and injuries which the States had ſuſtained from the inſolence and rapacity of the Engliſh; they, on the other hand, flattered and cajoled them with little advantages in trade, and formal profeſſions of reſpect. Such was the memorial delivered by the Count d'Affry, intimating that the Empreſs-Queen being under an abſolute neceſſity of employing all her forces to defend her hereditary dominions in Germany, ſhe had been obliged to withdraw her troops from Oſtend and Nieuport, and applied to the French King, as her ally neareſt at hand, to garriſon theſe two places, which, however, ſhould be reſtored at the peace, or ſooner, ſhould her Imperial Majeſty think proper. The ſpirit of the Dutch merchants, at this juncture, and their ſentiments with reſpect to England, appeared with very high colouring in a memorial to the States-General, ſubſcribed by two hundred and ſixty-nine traders, compoſed and preſented with equal ſecreſy and circumſpection. In this famous remonſtrance they complained, that the violences and unjuſt depredations committed by the Engliſh ſhips of war and privateers on the veſſels and effects of them and their fellow-ſubjects, were not only continued,

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but daily multiplied; and cruelty and exceſs carried to ſuch a pitch of wanton barbarity, that the petitioners were forced to implore the aſſiſtance of their High Mightineſſes to protect, in the moſt efficacious manner, the commerce and navigation, which were the two ſinews of the Republick. For this neceſſary purpoſe they offered to contribute each his contingent, and to arm at their own charge; and other propoſitions were made for an immediate augmentation of the marine. While this party induſtriouſly exerted all their power and credit to effect a rupture with England, the Princeſs Gouvernante employed all her intereſt and addreſs to divert them from this object, and alarm them with reſpect to the power and deſigns of France; againſt which ſhe earneſtly exhorted them to augment their military forces by land, that they might be prepared to defend themſelves againſt all invaſion. At the ſame time ſhe ſpared no pains to adjuſt the differences between her huſband's country and her father's kingdom; and, without doubt, her healing councils were of great efficacy in preventing matters from coming to a very dangerous extremity.

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CHAP. IX.

§ I. *Expedition againſt Senegal.* § II. *Fort Louis and Senegal taken.* § III. *Unſucceſsful attempt upon Goree.* § IV. *Expedition to Cape-Breton.* § V. *Louiſbourg taken.* § VI. *And St. John's.* § VII. *Unſucceſsful attempt upon Ticonderoga.* § VIII. *Fort Frontenac taken and deſtroyed by the Engliſh.* § IX. *Brigadier Forbes takes Fort du Queſne.* § X. *Goree taken.* § XI. *Shipwreck of Captain Barton.* § XII. *Gallant exploit of Captain Tyrrel.* § XIII. *Tranſactions in the Eaſt-Indies. Adm. Pococke engages the French fleet.* § XIV. *Fort St. David's taken by the French. Second engagement between Adm. Pococke and M. d'Apché.* § XV. *Progreſs of M. Lally.* § XVI. *Tranſactions on the continent of Europe.* § XVII. *King of Pruſſia raiſes contributions in Saxony, and the dominions of the Duke of Wirtemberg.* § XVIII. *State of the armies on the continent.* § XIX. *French King changes the adminiſtration of Hanover.* § XX. *Plan of a treaty between the French King and the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel.* § XXI. *Treaty between the French King and the Duke of Brunſwick.* § XXII. *Decree of the Aulick Council againſt the Elector of Hanover and others.* § XXIII. *Bremen taken by the Duke de Broglio, and retaken by Prince Ferdinand.* § XXIV. *Duke de Richelieu recalled. Generous conduct of the Duke de Randan.* § XXV. *The French abandon Hanover. Prince of Brunſwick reduces Hoya and Minden.* § XXVI. *Prince Ferdinand defeats the French at Creveldt, and takes Duſſeldorp.* § XXVII. *Prince of Yſembourg defeated by the Duke de Broglio.* § XXVIII. *General Imhoff defeats M. de Chevert.* § XXIX. *General Oberg defeated by the French at Landwernhagen.* § XXX. *Death of the Duke of Marlborough.* § XXXI. *Operations of the King*

of Pruſſia, at the beginning of the campaign. § XXXII. *He enters Moravia, and inveſts Olmutz.* § XXXIII. *He is obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and retires into Bohemia, where he takes Koningſgratz.* § XXXIV. *Progreſs of the Ruſſians.* § XXXV. *King of Pruſſia defeats the Ruſſians at Zorndorf.* § XXXVI. *And is defeated by the Auſtrians at Hochkirchen.* § XXXVII. *He retires to Sileſia.* § XXXVIII. *Suburbs of Dreſden burnt by the Pruſſian Governor.* § XXXIX. *King of Pruſſia raiſes the ſiege of Neiſs, and relieves Dreſden.* § XL. *Inhabitants of Saxony grievouſly oppreſſed.* § XLI. *Progreſs of the Swedes in Pomerania.* § XLII. *Prince Charles of Saxony elected Duke of Courland.* § XLIII. *King of England's memorial to the Diet of the Empire.* § XLIV. *Death of Pope Benedict.* § XLV. *King of Portugal aſſaſſinated.* § XLVI. *Proceedings of the French miniſtry.* § XLVII. *Conduct of the King of Denmark.* § XLVIII. *Anſwers to the charges brought by the Dutch againſt the Engliſh cruizers.* § XLIX. *Conferences between the Britiſh Ambaſſador and the States-General.* § L. *Further proceedings.*

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§ I. THE whole ſtrength of Great-Britain, during this campaign, was not exhauſted in petty deſcents upon the coaſt of France. The continent of America was the great theatre on which her chief vigour was diſplayed; nor did ſhe fail to exert herſelf in ſucceſsful efforts againſt the French ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa. The whole gum trade, from Cape Blanco to the river Gambia, an extent of five hundred miles, had been engroſſed by the French, who built Fort Louis within the mouth of the Senegal, extending their factories near three hundred leagues up that River, and on the ſame coaſt had fortified the iſland of Goree, in which they maintained a conſiderable garriſon. The gum-ſenega, of which a great quantity is uſed by the manufacturers

manufacturers of England, being wholly in the hands of the enemy, the Engliſh dealers were obliged to buy it at ſecond-hand from the Dutch, who purchaſed it of the French, and exacted an exorbitant price for that commodity. This conſideration forwarded the plan for annexing the country to the poſſeſſion of Great-Britain. The project was firſt conceived by Mr. Thomas Cumming, a ſenſible Quaker, who, as a private merchant, had made a voyage to Portenderrick, an adjoining part of the coaſt, and contracted a perſonal acquaintance with Amir, the Mooriſh King of Legibelli *. He found this African Prince extremely well diſpoſed towards the ſubjects of Great-Britain, whom he publickly preferred to all other Europeans, and ſo exaſperated againſt the French, that he declared he ſhould never be eaſy till they were exterminated from the river Senegal. At that very time he had commenced hoſtilities againſt them, and earneſtly deſired that the King of England would ſend out an armament to reduce Fort-Louis and Goree, with ſome ſhips of force to protect the traders. In that caſe, he promiſed to join his Britannick Majeſty's forces, and grant an excluſive trade to his ſubjects. Mr. Cumming, not only perceived the advantages that would reſult from ſuch an excluſive privilege with regard to the gum, but foreſaw many other important conſequences of an extenſive trade in a country, which, over and above the gum-ſenega, contains many valuable articles, ſuch as gold duſt, elephants teeth hides, cotton, bees-wax, ſlaves, oſtrich-feathers, indigo, ambergris, and civet. Elevated with the proſpect of an acquiſition ſo valuable to his country, this honeſt Quaker was equally minute and indefatigable in his enquiries touching the commerce of the coaſt, as well as the ſtrength and ſituation of the

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* The name the natives give to that part of South Barbary, known to merchants and navigators by that of the [illegible]um Coaſt, and called in maps, The Sandy Deſert of Sara, and ſometimes Zara.

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French ſettlements on the river Senegal; and, at his return to England, actually formed the plan of an expedition for the conqueſt of Fort-Louis. This was preſented to the board of Trade, by whom it was approved, after a ſevere examination; but it required the patriotic zeal, and invincible perſeverance of Cumming, to ſurmount a variety of obſtacles before it was adopted by the miniſtry; and even then it was not executed in its full extent. He was abridged of one large ſhip, and in lieu of ſix hundred land forces, to be drafted from different regiments, which he in vain demanded, firſt from the Duke of Cumberland, and afterwards from Lord Ligonier, the Lords of the Admiralty allotted two hundred marines only for this ſervice. After repeated ſolicitation, he, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-ſeven, obtained an order, that the two annual ſhips bound to the coaſt of Guinea ſhould be joined by a ſloop and two buſſes, and make an attempt upon the French ſettlement in the river Senegal. Theſe ſhips, however, were detained by contrary winds until the ſeaſon was too far advanced to admit a probability of ſucceſs, and therefore the deſign was poſtponed. In the beginning of the preſent year, Mr. Cumming being reinforced with the intereſt of a conſiderable merchant in the city, to whom he had communicated the plan, renewed his application to the miniſtry, and they reſolved to hazard the enterprize. A ſmall ſquadron was equipped for this expedition, under the command of Captain Marſh, having on board a body of marines, commanded by Major Maſon, with a detachment of artillery, ten pieces of cannon, eight mortars, and a conſiderable quantity of warlike ſtores and ammunition. Captain Walker was appointed engineer; and Mr. Cumming was concerned as a principle director and promoter of the expedition *.

This

* On this occaſion Mr. Cumming may ſeem to have acted directly contrary to the tenets of his religious profeſſion; but he ever declar-

This little armament ſailed in the beginning of March; and in their paſſage touched at the iſland Teneriffe, where, while the ſhips ſupplied themſelves with wine and water, Mr. Cumming proceeded in the Swan ſloop to Portenderrick, being charged with a letter of credence to his old friend the King of that country, who had favoured him in his laſt viſit with an excluſive trade on that coaſt, by a formal charter, written in the Arabick language. This Prince was now up the country, engaged in a war with his neighbours, called the Diable Moors *; and the Queen-Dowager, who remained at Portenderrick, gave Mr. Cumming to underſtand, that ſhe could not at preſent ſpare any troops to join the Engliſh in their expedition againſt Senegal: but ſhe aſſured him, that, ſhould the French be exterminated, ſhe and their ſubjects would go thither and ſettle. In the mean time, one of the chiefs, called Prince Amir, diſpatched a meſſenger to the King, with advice of their arrival and deſign. He declared that he would, with all poſſible diligence, aſſemble three hundred warriors to join the Engliſh troops, and that, in his opinion, the King would reinforce them with a detachment from his army. By this time, Captain Marſh, with the reſt of the armament, had arrived at Portenderrick, and fearing that the enemy might receive intimation of his deſign, reſolved to proceed on the expedition, without waiting for the promiſed auxiliaries. On the twenty-ſecond day of April he

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to the miniſtry, that he was fully perſuaded his ſchemes might be accompliſhed without the effuſion of human blood; and that if he thought otherwiſe, he would by no means have concerned himſelf about them. He alſo deſired, let the conſequence be what it might, his brethren ſhould not be chargeable with what was his own ſingle act. If it was the firſt military ſcheme of any Quaker, let it be remembered it was alſo the firſt ſucceſsful expedition of this war, and one of the firſt that ever was carried on according to the pacifick ſyſtem of the Quakers, without the loſs of a drop of blood, on either ſide.

* This is the name by which the ſubjects of Legibelli diſtinguiſh thoſe of Brackna, who inhabit the country farther up the river Senegal, and are in conſtant alliance with the French.

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weighed anchor, and next day, at four o'clock, diſcovered the French flag flying upon Fort Louis, ſituated in the midſt of a pretty conſiderable town, which exhibited a very agreeable appearance. The Commodore having made prize of a Dutch ſhip, richly laden with gum, which lay at anchor without the bar, came to anchor in Senegal-road at the mouth of the river: and here he perceived ſeveral armed ſloops which the enemy had detached to defend the paſſage of the bar, which is extremely dangerous. All the boats were employed in conveying the ſtores into the ſmall craft, while three of the ſloops continued exchanging fire over a narrow tongue of land with the veſſels of the enemy, conſiſting of one brig and ſix armed ſloops, mounted with great guns and ſwivels. At length the channel being diſcovered, and the wind, which generally blows down the river, chopping about, Captain Millar, of the London buſs, ſeized that opportunity; and paſſing the bar with a flowing ſheet, dropped anchor on the inſide, where he lay till night, expoſed to the whole fire of the enemy. Next day he was joined by the other ſmall veſſels, and a regular engagement enſued. This was warmly maintained on both ſides, until the buſſes and one dogger running a-ground, immediately bulged, and were filled with water. Then the troops they contained took to their boats, and with ſome difficulty reached the ſhore; where they formed in a body, and were ſoon joined by their companions from the other veſſels; ſo that now the whole amounted to three hundred and ninety marines, beſides the detachment of artillery. As they laid their account with being attacked by the natives who lined the ſhore at ſome diſtance, ſeemingly determined to oppoſe the deſcent, they forthwith threw up an intrenchment, and began to diſembark the ſtores, great part of which lay under water. While they were employed in raiſing this occaſional defence, the negroes came in great numbers

numbers and ſubmitted; and on the ſucceeding day they were reinforced by three hundred and fifty ſeamen, who paſſed the bar in ſloops, with their enſigns and colours flying. CHAP. IX. 1758.

§ II. They had made no further progreſs in their operations, when two French deputies arrived at the entrenchment, with propoſals for a capitulation from the Governor of Fort-Louis. After ſome heſitation, Captain Marſh and Major Maſon agreed, That all the white people belonging to the French company at Senegal ſhould be ſafely conducted to France in an Engliſh veſſel, without being deprived of their private effects, provided all the merchandize and uncoined treaſure ſhould be delivered up to the victors; and that all the forts, ſtorehouſes, veſſels, arms, proviſions, and every article belonging to the company in that river, ſhould be put into the hands of the Engliſh immediately after the capitulation could be ſigned. They promiſed that the free natives living at Fort-Louis ſhould remain in quiet poſſeſſion of their effects, and in the free exerciſe of their religion; and that all negroes, mulattoes, and others, who could prove themſelves free, ſhould have it in their option either to remain in the place, or remove to any other part of the country *. The Captains Campbell and Walker were immediately ſent up the river with a flag of truce, to ſee the articles ſigned and executed; but they were ſo retarded by the rapidity of the ſtream, that they did not approach the fort till three in the morning. As ſoon as the day broke they hoiſted their flag, and rowed up towards a battery on a point of the iſland, where they lay upon their oars very near a full hour, beating the chamade; but no notice was taken of their approach. This reſerve appearing myſterious, they

* The victors, however, committed a very great miſtake in allowing them to carry off their books and accounts, the peruſal of which would have been of infinite ſervice to the Engliſh merchants, by informing them of the commodities, their value, the proper ſeaſons, and methods of proſecuting the trade.

retired

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retired down the river to their entrenchment, where they underſtood that the negroes on the iſland were in arms, and had blocked up the French in Fort-Louis, reſolving to defend the place to the laſt extremity, unleſs they ſhould be included in the capitulation. This intelligence was communicated in a ſecond letter from the Governor, who likewiſe informed the Engliſh Commander, that unleſs the French Director-general ſhould be permitted to remain with the natives, as a ſurety for that article of the capitulation in which they were concerned, they would allow themſelves to be cut in pieces rather than ſubmit. This requeſt being granted, the Engliſh forces began their march to Fort-Louis, accompanied by a number of long boats, in which the artillery and ſtores had been embarked. The French ſeeing them advance, immediately ſtruck their flag; and Major Maſon took poſſeſſion of the caſtle, where he found ninety-two pieces of cannon, with treaſure and merchandiſe to a conſiderable value. The corporation and burghers of the town of Senegal ſubmitted, and ſwore allegiance to his Britannick Majeſty: the neighbouring princes, attended by numerous retinues, viſited the Commander, and concluded treaties with the Engliſh nation, and the King of Portenderrick, or Legibelli, ſent an Ambaſſador from his camp to Major Maſon, with preſents, compliments of congratulation, and aſſurances of friendſhip. The number of free independent Negroes and Mulattoes, ſettled at Senegal, amounted to three thouſand, and many of theſe enjoyed ſlaves and poſſeſſions of their own. The two French factories of Podore and Galam, the latter ſituated nine hundred miles farther up the river, were included in the capitulation; ſo that Great-Britain, almoſt without ſtriking a blow, found herſelf poſſeſſed of a conqueſt, from which, with proper management, ſhe may derive inconceivable riches. This important acquiſition was in a great meaſure, if not entirely, owing to the ſagacity,

ſagacity, zeal, and indefatigable efforts of Mr. Cumming, who not only formed the plan, and ſolicited the armament, but alſo attended the execution of it in perſon, at the hazard of his life, and to the interruption of his private concerns.

§ III. Fort-Louis being ſecured with an Engliſh garriſon, and ſome armed veſſels left to guard the paſſage of the bar, at the mouth of the river, the great ſhips proceeded to make an attempt upon the iſland of Goree, which lies at the diſtance of thirty leagues from Senegal. There the French company had conſiderable magazines and warehouſes, and lodged the negro ſlaves until they could be ſhipped for the Weſt-Indies. If the additional force which Mr. Cumming propoſed for the conqueſt of this iſland had been added to the armament, in all probability the iſland would have been reduced, and in that caſe, the nation would have ſaved the conſiderable expence of a ſubſequent expedition againſt it, under the conduct of Commodore Keppel. At preſent, the ſhips by which Goree was attacked were found unequal to the attempt, and the expedition miſcarried accordingly, though the miſcarriage was attended with little or no damage to the aſſailants.

§ IV. Scenes of ſtill greater importance were acted in North-America, where, excluſive of the fleet and marines, the government had aſſembled about fifty thouſand men, including two-and-twenty thouſand regular troops. The Earl of Loudoun having returned to England, the chief command in America devolved on Major-General Abercrombie; but as the objects of operation were various, the forces were divided into three detached bodies, under as many different commanders. About twelve thouſand were deſtined to undertake the ſiege of Louiſbourg, on the iſland of Cape-Breton. The General himſelf reſerved near ſixteen thouſand for the reduction of Crown-Point, a fort ſituated on Lake Champlain: eight thouſand, under the conduct of Brigadier-General

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General Forbes, were allotted for the conqueſt of Fort du Queſne, which ſtood a great way to the ſouthward, near the river Ohio; and a conſiderable garriſon was left at Annapolis, in Nova-Scotia. The reduction of Louiſbourg and the iſland of Cape-Breton being an object of immediate conſideration, was undertaken with all poſſible diſpatch. Major-General Amherſt being joined by Admiral Boſcawen, with the fleet and forces from England, the whole armament, conſiſting of one hundred and fifty-ſeven ſail, took their departure from the harbour of Halifax, in Nova-Scotia, on the twenty-eighth of May; and on the ſecond of June part of the tranſports anchored in the bay of Gabarus, about ſeven miles to the weſtward of Louiſbourg. The garriſon of this place, commanded by the Chevalier Drucour, conſiſted of two thouſand five hundred regular troops, three hundred militia, formed of the burghers, and towards the end of the ſiege they were reinforced by three hundred and fifty Canadians, including three-ſcore Indians. The harbour was ſecured by ſix ſhips of the line, and five frigates*, three of which the enemy ſunk acroſs the harbour's mouth, in order to render it inacceſſible to the Engliſh ſhipping. The fortifications were in bad repair, many parts of them crumbling down the covered way, and ſeveral baſtions expoſed in ſuch a manner as to be enfiladed by the beſiegers, and no part of the town ſecure from the effects of cannonading and bombardment. The Governor had taken all the precautions in his power to prevent a landing, by eſtabliſhing a chain of poſts, that extended two leagues and a half along the moſt inacceſſible part of the beach: entrenchments were thrown up, and batteries erected; but there were ſome intermediate places, which could not

* The Prudent, of ſeventy-four guns; the Entreprenant, of ſeventy-four guns; the Capricieux, Celebre, and Bienfaiſant, of ſixty four guns each; the Apollo, of fifty-guns; the Chevre, Biche, Fidelle, Diana, and Echo frigates.

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be properly ſecured, and in one of theſe the Engliſh troops were diſembarked. The diſpoſition being made for landing, a detachment, in ſeveral ſloops under convoy, paſſed by the mouth of the harbour towards Lorembec, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way, while the landing ſhould really be effected on the other ſide of the town. On the eighth day of June, the troops being aſſembled in the boats before day-break, in three diviſions, ſeveral ſloops and frigates, that were ſtationed along ſhore in the bay of Gabarus, began to ſcour the beach with their ſhot; and after the fire had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats, containing the diviſion on the left, were rowed towards the ſhore, under the command of Brigadier General Wolfe, an accompliſhed officer, who, in the ſequel, diſplayed very extraordinary proofs of military genius. At the ſame time the two other diviſions, on the right and in the centre, commanded by the Brigadiers Whitmore and Laurence, made a ſhow of landing, in order to divide and diſtract the enemy. Notwithſtanding an impetuous ſurf, by which many boats were overſet, and a very ſevere fire of cannon and muſquetry from the enemy's batteries, which did conſiderable execution, Brigadier Wolfe purſued his point with admirable courage and deliberation. The ſoldiers leaped into the water with the moſt eager alacrity, and, gaining the ſhore, attacked the enemy in ſuch a manner, that in a few minutes they abandoned their works and artillery, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion. The other diviſions landed alſo, but not without an obſtinate oppoſition; and the ſtores, with the artillery, being brought on ſhore, the town of Louiſbourg was formally inveſted. The difficulty of landing ſtores and implements in boiſterous weather, and the nature of the ground, which being marſhy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, retarded the operations of the ſiege. Mr. Amherſt made his approaches with great circumſpection, ſecuring

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ſecuring his camp with redoubts and epaulements from any attacks of Canadians, of which he imagined there was a conſiderable body behind him on the iſland, as well as from the fire of the French ſhipping in the harbour, which would otherwiſe have annoyed him extremely in his advances.

§ V. The Governor of Louiſbourg having deſtroyed the grand battery, which was detached from the body of the place, and recalled his out-poſts, prepared for making a vigorous defence. A very ſevere fire, well directed, was maintained againſt the beſiegers and their works, from the town, the iſland battery, and the ſhips in the harbour; and divers ſallies were made, though without much effect. In the mean time Brigadier Wolfe, with a ſtrong detachment, had marched round the north-eaſt part of the harbour, and taken poſſeſſion of the Light-houſe-point, where he erected ſeveral batteries againſt the ſhips and the iſland fortification, which laſt was ſoon ſilenced. On the nineteenth day of June the Echo, a French frigate, was taken by the Engliſh cruiſers, after having eſcaped from the harbour: from the officers on board of this ſhip the Admiral learned that the Bizarre, another frigate, had ſailed from thence on the day of the diſembarkation, and the Comete had ſucceſsfully followed her example. Beſides the regular approaches to the town, conducted by the engineers under the immediate command and inſpection of General Amherſt, divers batteries were raiſed by the detached corps under Brigadier Wolfe, who exerted himſelf with amazing activity, and grievouſly incommoded the enemy, both of the town and ſhipping. On the the twenty-firſt day of July the three great ſhips, the Entreprenant, Capricieux, and Celebre, were ſet on fire by a bomb-ſhell, and burned to aſhes, ſo that none remained but the Prudent and Bienfaiſant, which the Admiral undertook to deſtroy. For this purpoſe, in the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty-

ſixth days of the month, the boats of the ſquadron were in two diviſions detached into the harbour, under the command of two young Captains, Laforey and Balfour. They accordingly penetrated, in the dark, through a terrible fire of cannon and muſquetry, and boarded the enemy ſword in hand. The Prudent, being a-ground, was ſet on fire, and deſtroyed, but the Bienfaiſant was towed out of the harbour in triumph. In the proſecution of the ſiege, the Admiral and General co-operated with remarkable harmony; the former chearfully aſſiſting the latter with cannon and other implements; with detachments of marines to maintain poſts on ſhore, with parties of ſeamen to act as pioneers, and concur in working the guns and mortars. The fire of the town was managed with equal ſkill and activity, and kept up with great perſeverance; until, at length, their ſhipping being all taken and deſtroyed, the caſerns* ruined in the two principal baſtions, forty out of fifty-two pieces of cannon diſmounted, broke, or rendered unſerviceable, and divers practicable breaches effected, the Governor, in a letter to Mr. Amherſt, propoſed a capitulation on the ſame articles that were granted to the Engliſh at Port-Mahon. In anſwer to this propoſal he was given to underſtand, that he and his garriſon muſt ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, otherwiſe he might next morning expect a general aſſault by the ſhipping under Admiral Boſcawen. The Chevalier Drucour, piqued at the ſeverity of theſe terms, replied, that he would, rather than comply with them, ſtand an aſſault; but the Commiſſary-general, and intendant of the colony, preſented a petition from the traders and inhabitants

* It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that a cavalier, which Admiral Knowles had built at an enormous expence to the nation, while Louiſbourg remained in the hands of the Engliſh in the laſt war, was, in the courſe of this ſiege, entirely demoliſhed by two or three ſhots from one of the Britiſh batteries; ſo admirably had this piece of fortification been contrived and executed, under the eye of that profound engineer.

of

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of the place, in conſequence of which he ſubmitted. On the twenty-ſeventh day of July three companies of grenadiers, commanded by Major Farquhar, took poſſeſſion of the weſtern gate; and Brigadier Whitmore was detached into the town, to ſee the garriſon lay down their arms, and deliver up their colours on the eſplanade, and to poſt the neceſſary guards on the ſtores, magazines, and ramparts. Thus, at the expence of about four hundred men killed and wounded, the Engliſh obtained poſſeſſion of the important iſland of Cape-Breton, and the ſtrong town of Louiſbourg, in which the victors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, with eighteen mortars, and a conſiderable quantity of ſtores and ammunition. The merchants and inhabitants were ſent to France in Engliſh bottoms; but the garriſon, together with the ſea-officers, marines, and mariners, amounting in all to five thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſeven priſoners, were tranſported to England. The loſs of Louiſbourg was the more ſeverely felt by the French King, as it had been attended with the deſtruction of ſo many conſiderable ſhips and frigates. The particulars of this tranſaction were immediately brought to England, in a veſſel diſpatched for that purpoſe, with Captain Amherſt, brother to the Commander, who was alſo entruſted with eleven pair of colours taken at Louiſbourg: theſe were, by his Majeſty's order, carried in pompous parade, eſcorted by detachments of horſe and foot guards, with kettle drums and trumpets, from the palace of Kenſington to St. Paul's cathedral, where they were depoſited as trophies, under a diſcharge of cannon, and other noiſy expreſſions of triumph and exultation. Indeed, the publick rejoicings for the conqueſt of Louiſbourg were diffuſed through every part of the Britiſh dominions, and addreſſes of congratulation were preſented to the King, by a great number of flouriſhing towns and corporations.

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§ VI. After the reduction of Cape-Breton, ſome ſhips were detached, with a body of troops under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Rollo, to take poſſeſſion of the iſland of St. John, which alſo lies in the Gulph of St. Laurence, and, by its fertility in corn and cattle, had, ſince the beginning of the war, ſupplied Quebeck with conſiderable quantities of proviſion. It was likewiſe the aſylum to which the French neutrals of Annapolis fled for ſhelter from the Engliſh government; and the retreat from whence they and the Indians uſed to make their ſudden irruptions into Nova-Scotia, where they perpetrated the moſt inhuman barbarities on the defenceleſs ſubjects of Great-Britain. The number of inhabitants amounted to four thouſand one hundred, who ſubmitted and brought in their arms; then Lord Rollo took poſſeſſion of the Governor's quarters where he found ſeveral ſcalps of Engliſhmen, whom the ſavages had aſſaſſinated, in conſequence of the encouragement they received from their French patrons and allies, who gratified them with a certain premium for every ſcalp they produced. The iſland was ſtocked with above ten thouſand head of black cattle, and ſome of the farmers raiſed each twelve hundred buſhels of corn annually for the market of Quebeck.

§ VII. The joy and ſatisfaction ariſing from the conqueſt of Louiſbourg and St. John, was not a little checked by the diſaſter which befel the main body of the Britiſh forces in America, under the immediate conduct of General Abercrombie, who, as we have already obſerved, had propoſed the reduction of the French forts on the Lakes George and Champlain, as the chief objects of his enterprize, with a view to ſecure the frontier of the Britiſh colonies, and open a paſſage for the future conqueſt of Canada. In the beginning of July his forces, amounting to near ſeven thouſand regular troops, and ten thouſand provincials, embarked on the Lake

BOOK III. 1754. George, in the neighbourhood of Lake Champlain, on board of nine hundred batteaus, and one hundred and thirty-five whale-boats, with proviſion, artillery, and ammunition; ſeveral pieces of cannon being mounted on rafts to cover the purpoſed landing, which was next day effected without oppoſition. The General's deſign was to inveſt Ticonderoga, a fort ſituated on a tongue of land, extending between Lake George and a narrow gut that communicates with Lake Champlain. This fortification was, on three ſides, ſurrounded with water, and in front nature had ſecured it with a moraſs. The Engliſh troops being diſembarked, were immediately formed into three columns, and began their march to the enemy's advanced poſt, conſiſting of one battalion, encamped behind a breaſt-work of logs, which they now abandoned with precipitation, after having ſet them on fire, and burned their tents and implements. The Britiſh forces continued their march in the ſame order; but the route lying through a thick wood that did not admit of any regular progreſſion or paſſage, and the guides proving extremely ignorant, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken by falling in one upon another. Lord Howe being advanced at the head of the right centre column, encountered a French detachment who had likewiſe loſt their way in the retreat from the advanced poſt, and a warm ſkirmiſh enſuing, the enemy were routed with conſiderable loſs, a good number were killed, and one hundred and forty-eight were taken priſoners, including five officers. This petty advantage was dearly bought with the loſs of Lord Howe, who fell in the beginning of the action, unſpeakably regretted as a young nobleman of the moſt promiſing talents, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a peculiar manner by his courage, activity, and rigid obſervation of military diſcipline, and had acquired the eſteem and affection of the ſoldiery by his generoſity, ſweetneſs of manners, and engaging addreſs.

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The General, perceiving the troops were greatly fatigued and diſordered from want of reſt and refreſhment, thought it adviſable to march back to the landing-place, which they reached about eight in the morning. Then he detached Lieutenant-Colonel Bradſtreet, with one regular regiment, ſix companies of the Royal Americans, with the batteau-men, and a body of rangers, to take poſſeſſion of a ſaw-mill in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had abandoned. This poſt being ſecured, the General advanced again towards Ticonderoga, where, he underſtood from the priſoners, the enemy had aſſembled eight battalions, with a body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in all to ſix thouſand. Theſe, they ſaid, being encamped before the fort, were employed in making a formidable entrenchment, where they intended to wait for a reinforcement of three thouſand men, who had been detached under the command of M. de Levi, to make a diverſion on the ſide of the Mohawk river*; but, upon intelligence of Mr. Abercrombie's approach, were now recalled for the defence of Ticonderoga. This information determined the Engliſh General to ſtrike, if poſſible, ſome deciſive ſtroke before the junction could be effected. He, therefore, early next morning ſent his engineer acroſs the river on the oppoſite ſide of the fort, to reconnoitre the enemy's entrenchments; and he reported that the works being ſtill unfiniſhed, might be attempted with a good proſpect of ſucceſs. A diſpoſition was made accordingly for the attack, and, after proper guards had been left at the ſaw-mill and the landing-place, the whole army was put in motion. They advanced with great alacrity to-

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* This officer intended to have made an irruption through the paſs of Oneida on the Mohawk river, but was recalled before he could execute his deſign. General Abercrombie afterwards ſent thither Brigadier Stanwix, with a conſiderable body of Provincials, and this important paſs was ſecured by a fort built at that juncture.

BOOK III. 1758. wards the entrenchment, which, however, they found altogether impracticable. The breaſt-work was raiſed eight feet high, and the ground before it covered with an abbatis, or felled trees, with their boughs pointing outwards, and projecting in ſuch a manner as to render the entrenchment almoſt inacceſſible. Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouraging difficulties, the Britiſh troops marched up to the aſſault with an undaunted reſolution, and ſuſtained a terrible fire without flinching. They endeavoured to cut their way through theſe embarraſſments with their ſwords, and ſome of them even mounted the parapet; but the enemy were ſo well covered, that they could deliberately direct their fire without the leaſt danger to themſelves: the carnage was therefore conſiderable, and the troops began to fall into confuſion, after ſeveral repeated attacks, which laſted above four hours, under the moſt diſadvantageous circumſtances. The General, by this time, ſaw plainly that no hope of ſucceſs remained; and, in order to prevent a total defeat, took meaſures for the retreat of the army, which retired unmoleſted to their former camp, with the loſs of about eighteen hundred men killed or wounded, including a great number of officers. Every corps of regular troops behaved, on this unfortunate occaſion, with remarkable intrepidity; but the greateſt loſs was ſuſtained by Lord John Murray's Highland regiment, of which above one half of the private men, and twenty-five officers, were either ſlain upon the ſpot, or deſperately wounded. Mr. Abercrombie, unwilling to ſtay in the neighbourhood of the enemy with forces which had received ſuch a diſpiriting check, retired to his batteaus, and re-embarking the troops, returned to the camp at Lake George, from whence he had taken his departure. Cenſure, which always attends miſcarriage, did not ſpare the character of this Commander; his attack was condemned as raſh, and his retreat as puſillanimous. In

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ſuch caſe allowances muſt be made for the peeviſhneſs of diſappointment, and the clamour of connection. How far Mr. Abercrombie acquitted himſelf in the duty of a General, we ſhall not pretend to determine; but if he could depend upon the courage and diſcipline of his forces, he ſurely had nothing to fear, after the action, from the attempts of the enemy, to whom he would have been ſuperior in number, even though they had been joined by the expected reinforcement: he might, therefore, have remained on the ſpot, in order to execute ſome other enterprize when he ſhould be reinforced in his turn; for General Amherſt no ſooner heard of his diſaſter than he returned with the troops from Cape-Breton to New-England, after having left a ſtrong garriſon in Louiſbourg. At the head of ſix regiments he began his march to Albany, about the middle of September, in order to join the forces on the lake, that they might undertake ſome other ſervice before the ſeaſon ſhould be exhauſted.

§ VIII. In the mean time, General Abercrombie had detached Lieutenant-Colonel Bradſtreet, with a body of three thouſand men, chiefly Provincials, to execute a plan which this officer had formed againſt Cadaraqui, or Fort Frontenac, ſituated on the north-ſide of the river St. Laurence, juſt where it takes its origin from the Lake Ontario. To the ſide of this lake he penetrated with his detachment, and embarking in ſome ſloops and batteaux, provided for the purpoſe, landed within a mile of Fort Frontenac, the garriſon of which, conſiſting of one hundred and ten men, with a few Indians, immediately ſurrendered at diſcretion. Conſidering the importance of this poſt, which, in a great meaſure, commanded the mouth of the river St. Laurence, and ſerved as a magazine to the more ſouthern caſtles, the French General was inexcuſeable for leaving it in ſuch a defenceleſs condition. The fortification itſelf

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was inconſiderable and ill contrived; nevertheleſs, it contained ſixty pieces of cannon, ſixteen ſmall mortars, with an immenſe quantity of merchandize and proviſions, depoſited for the uſe of the French forces detached againſt Brigadier Forbes, their weſtern garriſons, and Indian allies, as well as for the ſubſiſtence of the corps commanded by M. de Levi, on his enterprize againſt the Mohawk river. Mr. Bradſtreet not only reduced the fort without bloodſhed, but alſo made himſelf maſter of all the enemy's ſhipping on the lake, amounting to nine armed veſſels, ſome of which carried eighteen guns. Two of theſe Mr. Bradſtreet conveyed to Oſwego, whither he returned with his troops, after he had deſtroyed Fort Frontenac, with all the artillery, ſtores, proviſion and merchandize which it contained. In conſequence of this exploit, the French troops to the ſouthward were expoſed to the hazard of ſtarving; but it is not eaſy to conceive the General's reaſon for giving orders to abandon and deſtroy a fort, which, if properly ſtrengthened and ſuſtained, might have rendered the Engliſh maſters of the Lake Ontario, and grievouſly haraſſed the enemy, both in their commerce, and expeditions to the weſtward. Indeed, great part of the Indian trade centered at Frontenac, to which place the Indians annually repaired from all parts of America, ſome of them at the diſtance of a thouſand miles, and here exchanged their furs for European commodities. So much did the French traders excel the Engliſh in the art of conciliating the affection of thoſe ſavage tribes, that great part of them, in their yearly progreſs to this remote market, actually paſſed by the Britiſh ſettlement of Albany, in New-York, where they might have been ſupplied with what articles they wanted, much more cheap than they could purchaſe them at Frontenac or Montreal; nay, the French traders uſed to furniſh themſelves with thoſe very commodities from the merchants of New-

New-York, and found this traffick much more profitable than that of procuring the ſame articles from France, loaded with the expence of a tedious and dangerous navigation, from the ſea to the ſource of the river St. Laurence. CHAP. IX. 1758.

§ IX. In all probability, the deſtruction of Frontenac facilitated the expedition againſt Fort du Queſne, entruſted to the conduct of Brigadier Forbes, who, with his little army, began his march in the beginning of July from Philadelphia for the river Ohio, a prodigious tract of country very little known, deſtitute of military roads, incumbered with mountains, moraſſes, and woods, that were almoſt impenetrable. It was not without incredible exertion of induſtry, that he procured proviſions and carriages for this expedition, formed new roads, extended ſcouting parties, ſecured camps, and ſurmounted many other difficulties in the courſe of his tedious march, during which he was alſo haraſſed by ſmall detachments of the enemy's Indians. Having penetrated with the main body as far as Ray's-Town, at the diſtance of ninety miles from Fort du Queſne, and advanced Colonel Bouquet, with two thouſand men, about fifty miles farther, to a place called Lyal-Henning, this officer detached Major Grant, at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the fort and its out-works. The enemy perceiving him approach; ſent a body of troops againſt him, ſufficient to ſurround his whole detachment: a very ſevere action began, which the Engliſh maintained with their uſual courage for three hours, againſt cruel odds; but at length, being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to give way, and retired in diſorder to Lyal-Henning, with the loſs of about three hundred men killed or taken, including Major Grant, who was carried priſoner to Fort du Queſne, and nineteen officers. Notwithſtanding this mortifying check, Brigadier Forbes advanced with the army, reſolved to proſe-

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cute his operations with vigour; but the enemy, dreading the proſpect of a ſiege, diſmantled and abandoned the fort, and retired down the river Ohi, to their ſettlements on the Miſſiſſippi. They quitted the fort on the twenty-fourth day of November, and next day it was poſſeſſed by the Britiſh forces. As for the Indians of this country, they ſeemed heartily to renounce their connections with France, and be perfectly reconciled to the government of his Britannick Majeſty. Brigadier Forbes having repaired the fort, changed its name from Du Queſne to Pittſburgh, ſecured it with a garriſon of Provincials, and concluded treaties of friendſhip and alliance with the Indian tribes. Then he marched back to Philadelphia, and in his retreat built a blockhouſe, near Lyal-Henning, for the defence of Pennſylvania; but he himſelf did not long ſurvive theſe tranſactions, his conſtitution having been exhauſted by the incredible fatigues of the ſervice. Thus have we given a particular detail of all the remarkable operations by which this campaign was diſtinguiſhed on the continent of America; the reader will be convinced that notwithſtanding the defeat at Ticonderoga, and the diſaſter of the advanced party in the neighbourhood of Fort du Queſne, the arms of Great-Britain acquired many important advantages; and, indeed, paved the way for the reduction of Quebeck, and conqueſt of all Canada. In the mean time, the Admirals Boſcawen and Hardy, having left a conſiderable ſquadron at Halifax, in Nova-Scotia, returned with four ſhips of the line to England, where they arrived in the beginning of November, after having given chace to ſix large French ſhips, which they deſcried to the weſtward of Scilly, but could not overtake or bring to an engagement.

§ X. The conqueſt of the French ſettlement in the river Senegal being deemed imperfect and incomplete,

incomplete, whilſt France ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the iſland of Goree, the miniſtry of Great-Britain reſolved to crown the campaign in Africa with the reduction of that fortreſs. For this purpoſe Commodore Keppel, brother to the Earl of Albemarle, was veſted with the command of a ſquadron, conſiſting of four ſhips of the line, ſeveral frigates, two bomb-ketches, and ſome tranſports, having on board ſeven hundred men of the regular troops, commanded by Colonel Worge, and embarked in the harbour of Cork in Ireland, from whence this whole armament took their departure on the eleventh day of November. After a tempeſtuous paſſage, in which they touched at the iſle of Teneriffe, they arrived at Goree in the latter end of December, and the Commodore made a diſpoſition for attacking this iſland, which was remarkably ſtrong by nature, but very indifferently fortified. Goree is a ſmall barren iſland, extending about three quarters of a mile in length, of a triangular form; and on the ſouth-weſt ſide riſing into a rocky hill, on which the paltry fort of St. Michael is ſituated. There is another, ſtill more inconſiderable, called St. Francis, towards the other extremity of the iſland; and ſeveral batteries were raiſed around its ſweep, mounted with about one hundred pieces of cannon, and four mortars. The French Governor, M. de St. Jean, had great plenty of ammunition, and his garriſon amounted to about three hundred men, excluſive of as many negro inhabitants. The flat-bottomed boats, for diſembarking the troops, being hoiſted out, and diſpoſed along-ſide of the different tranſports, the Commodore ſtationed his ſhips on the weſt ſide of the iſland, and the engagement began with a ſhell from one of the ketches. This was a ſignal for the great ſhips, which poured in their broadſides without intermiſſion, and the fire was returned with equal vivacity from all the batteries of the iſland. In the courſe of the action the cannonading

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nonading from the ſhips became ſo ſevere and terrible, that the French garriſon deſerted their quarters, in ſpite of all the efforts of the Governor, who acquitted himſelf like a man of honour; but he was obliged to ſtrike his colours, and ſurrender at diſcretion, after a ſhort but warm diſpute, in which the loſs of the Britiſh Commodore did not exceed one hundred men killed and wounded. The ſucceſs of the day was the more extraordinary, as the French garriſon had not loſt a man, except one negro killed by the burſting of a bomb-ſhell, and the number of their wounded was very inconſiderable. While the attack laſted, the oppoſite ſhore of the continent was lined with a concourſe of negroes, aſſembled to view the combat, who expreſſed their ſentiments and ſurpriſe in loud clamour and uncouth geſticulations, and ſeemed to be impreſſed with awe and aſtoniſhment at the power and execution of the Britiſh ſquadron. The French colours being ſtruck, as a ſignal of ſubmiſſion, the Commodore ſent a detachment of marines on ſhore, who diſarmed the garriſon, and hoiſted the Britiſh flag upon the caſtle of St. Michael. In the mean time, the Governor and the reſt of the priſoners were ſecured among the ſhipping. Thus the important iſland of Goree fell into the hands of the Engliſh, together with two trading veſſels that chanced to be at anchor in the road, and ſtores, money, and merchandize, to the value of twenty thouſand pounds. Part of the troops being left in garriſon at Goree, under the command of Major Newton, together with three ſloops for his ſervice, the ſquadron being watered and refreſhed from the continent, that part of which is governed by one of the Jalof kings, and the priſoners, with their baggage, being diſmiſſed in three cartel ſhips to France, the Commodore ſet ſail for Senegal, and reinforced Fort-Louis with the reſt of the troops, under Colonel Worge, who was at this juncture favoured with a viſit by the King of Legibelli;

Legibelli: but very little pains were taken to diſmiſs this potentate in good humour, or maintain the diſpoſition he profeſſed to favour the commerce of Great-Britain. True it is, he was deſirous of engaging the Engliſh in his quarrels with ſome neighbouring nations; and ſuch engagements were cautiouſly and politically avoided, becauſe it was the intereſt of Great-Britain to be upon good terms with every African Prince who could promote and extend the commerce of her ſubjects.

§ XI. Commodore Keppel having reduced Goree, and reinforced the garriſon of Senegal, returned to England, where all his ſhips arrived, after a very tempeſtuous voyage, in which the ſquadron had been diſperſed. This expedition, however ſucceſsful in the main, was attended with one misfortune, the loſs of the Lichfield ſhip of war, commanded by Captain Barton, which, together with one tranſport and a bomb-tender, was wrecked on the coaſt of Barbary, about nine leagues to the northward of Saffy, in the dominions of Morocco. One hundred and thirty men, including ſeveral officers, periſhed on this occaſion; but the Captain and the reſt of the company, to the number of two hundred and twenty, made ſhift to reach the ſhore, where they ran the riſque of ſtarving, and were cruelly uſed by the natives, although a treaty of peace at that time ſubſiſted between Great-Britain and Morocco; nay, they were even enſlaved by the Emperor, who detained them in captivity until they were ranſomed by the Britiſh Government: ſo little dependance can be placed on the faith of ſuch barbarian Princes, with whom it is even a diſgrace for any civiliſed nation to be in alliance, whatever commercial advantages may ariſe from the connection.

§ XII. The incidents of the war that happened in the Weſt-Indies, during theſe occurrences, may be reduced to a ſmall compaſs. Nothing extraordinary was achieved in the neighbourhood of Jamaica,

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Jamaica, where Admiral Coates commanded a ſmall ſquadron, from which he detached cruiſers occaſionally for the protection of the Britiſh commerce; and at Antigua the trade was effectually ſecured by the vigilance of Captain Tyrrel, whoſe courage and activity were equal to his conduct and circumſpection. In the month of March, this gentleman, with his own ſhip the Buckingham, and the Cambridge, another of the line, demoliſhed a fort on the iſland of Martinique, and deſtroyed four privateers riding under its protection; but his valour appeared much more conſpicuous in a ſubſequent engagement, which happened in the month of November. Being detached on a cruiſe in his own ſhip, the Buckingham, by Commodore Moore, who commanded at the Leeward Iſlands, he fell in with the Weazle ſloop, commanded by Captain Boles between the iſlands of Montſerrat and Guadaloupe, and immediately diſcovered a fleet of nineteen ſail, under convoy of a French ſhip of war carrying ſeventy-four cannon, and two large frigates. Captain Tyrrel immediately gave chaſe with all the ſail he could carry, and the Weazle running cloſe to the enemy, received a whole broadſide from the large ſhip, which, however, ſhe ſuſtained without much damage: nevertheleſs, Mr. Tyrrel ordered her Commander to keep aloof, as he could not be ſuppoſed able to bear the ſhock of large metal, and he himſelf prepared for the engagement. The enemy's large ſhip, the Floriſſant, though of much greater force than the Buckingham, inſtead of lying-to for his coming up, made a running fight with her ſtern-chaſe, while the two frigates annoyed him in his courſe, ſometimes raking him fore and aft, and ſometimes lying on his quarter. At length he came along-ſide of the Floriſſant, within piſtol-ſhot, and poured in a whole broadſide, which did conſiderable execution. The ſalutation was returned with equal vivacity, and a furious engagement enſued.

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ſued. Captain Tyrrel was wounded in the face, and loſt three fingers of his right hand; ſo that, being entirely diſabled, he was obliged to delegate the command of the ſhip to his firſt Lieutenant, Mr. Marſhal, who continued the battle with great gallantry until he loſt his life: then the charge devolved to the ſecond Lieutenant who acquitted himſelf with equal honour, and ſuſtained a deſperate fight againſt three ſhips of the enemy. The officers and crew of the Buckingham exerted themſelves with equal vigour and deliberation, and Captain Troy, who commanded a detachment of marines on the poop, plied his ſmall arms ſo effectually, as to drive the French from their quarters. At length confuſion, terror, and uproar prevailing on board the Floriſſant, her firing ceaſed, and her colours were hauled down about twilight: but her Commander perceiving that the Buckingham was too much damaged in her rigging to purſue in any hope of ſucceſs, ordered all his ſails to be ſet, and fled in the dark with his two conſorts. Nothing but this circumſtance could have prevented a Britiſh ſhip of ſixty-five guns, indifferently manned in reſpect to number, from taking a French ſhip of the line, mounted with ſeventy-four pieces of cannon, provided with ſeven hundred men, and aſſiſted by two large frigates, one of thirty-eight guns, and the other wanting two of this number. The loſs of the Buckingham, in this action, did not exceed twenty men killed and wounded; whereas the number of the ſlain on board the Floriſſant did not fall ſhort of one hundred and eighty, and that of her wounded is ſaid to have exceeded three hundred. She was ſo diſabled in her hull, that ſhe could hardly be kept afloat until ſhe reached Martinique, where ſhe was repaired; and the largeſt frigate, together with the loſs of forty men, received ſuch damage as to be for ſome time quite unſerviceable.

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§ XIII. In the East-Indies the transactions of the war were chequered with a variety of success; but, on the whole, the designs of the enemy were entirely defeated. The French Commander, M. de Bussy, had, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, quarrelled with Salabatzing, viceroy of Decan, because this last would not put him in possession of the fortress of Golconda. In the course of the next year, while the English forces were employed in Bengal, M. de Bussy made himself master of the British factories of Ingeram, Bandermalanka, and Vizagapatam, and the reduction of this last left the enemy in possession of the whole coast of Coromandel, from Ganjam to Massulapatam. While a body of the English company's forces, under Captain Caillaud, endeavoured to reduce the important fortress and town of Madura, the French, under M. D'Anteuil, invested Trichinopoly. Caillaud no sooner received intelligence of the danger to which this place was exposed, than he hastened to its relief, and obliged the enemy to abandon the siege. Then he returned to Madura, and, after an unsuccessful assault, made himself master of it by capitulation. During these transactions, Colonel Forde made an attempt upon the fort of Nelloure, a strong place, at the distance of twenty-four miles from Madras, but miscarried; and this was also the fate of an expedition against Wandewash, undertaken by Colonel Aldercron. The first was repulsed in storming the place, the other was anticipated by the French army, which marched from Pondicherry to the relief of the garrison. The French King had sent a considerable reinforcement to the East-Indies, under the command of General Lally, an officer of Irish extraction, together with such a number of ships as rendered the squadron of M. d'Apché superior to that of Admiral Pococke, who had succeeded Admiral Watson, lately deceased, in the command of the English squadron stationed on the coast of Coromandel,

Coromandel, which, in the beginning of this year, was reinforced from England with ſeveral ſhips, under the direction of Commodore Steevens. Immediately after this junction, which was effected in the road of Madras on the twenty-fourth day of March, Admiral Pococke, who had already ſignalized himſelf by his courage, vigilance, and conduct, ſailed to windward, with a view to intercept the French ſquadron, of which he had received intelligence. In two days he deſcried in the road of Fort St. David the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of nine ſhips, which immediately ſtood out to ſea, and formed the line of battle a-head. The Admiral took the ſame precaution, and bearing down upon M. d'Apché, the engagement began about three in the afternoon. The French Commodore, having ſuſtained a warm action for about two hours, bore away with his whole fleet, and being joined by two ſhips, formed a line of battle again to leeward. Admiral Pococke's own ſhip, and ſome others, being greatly damaged in their maſts and rigging, two of his Captains having miſbehaved in the action, and night coming on, he did not think it adviſable to purſue them with all the ſail he could carry; but, nevertheleſs, he followed them at a proper diſtance, ſtanding to the ſouth-weſt, in order to maintain the weather-gage, in caſe he ſhould be able to renew the action in the morning. In this expectation, however, he was diſappointed; the enemy ſhewed no lights, nor made any ſignals that could be obſerved; and in the morning not the leaſt veſtige of them appeared. Mr. Pococke, on the ſuppoſition that they had weathered them in the night, endeavoured to work up after him to windward; but finding he loſt ground conſiderably, he dropped anchor about three leagues to the northward of Sadras, and received intelligence from the chief of that ſettlement, that one of the largeſt French ſhips, having been diſabled in the engagement, was run aſhore to the ſouthward of Alemparve, where their whole

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ſquadron lay at anchor. Such was the iſſue of the firſt action between the Engliſh and French ſquadrons in the Eaſt-Indies, which, over and above the loſs of a capital ſhip, is ſaid to have coſt the enemy about five hundred men, whereas the Britiſh Admiral did not loſe one-fifth part of that number. Being diſſatisfied with the behaviour of three Captains, he, on his return to Madras, appointed a Court-martial to enquire into their conduct; two were diſmiſſed from the ſervice, and the third was ſentenced to loſe one year's rank as a Poſt-Captain.

§ XIV. In the mean time Mr. Lally had diſembarked his troops at Pondicherry, and taking the field, immediately inveſted the fort of St. David; while the ſquadron blocked it up by ſea. Two Engliſh ſhips being at anchor in the road when the enemy arrived, their Captains ſeeing no poſſibility of eſcaping ran them on ſhore, ſet them on fire, and retired with their men into the fortreſs, which, however, was in a few days ſurrendered. A much more reſolute defence was expected from the courage and conduct of Major Polier, who commanded the garriſon. When he arrived at Madras he was ſubjected to a Court of Enquiry, which acquitted him of cowardice, but were of opinion that the place might have held out much longer, and that the terms on which it ſurrendered were ſhameful, as the enemy were not even maſters of the outward covered way, as they had made no breach, and had a wet ditch to fill up and paſs, before the town could have been properly aſſaulted. Polier, in order to wipe off this diſgrace, deſired to ſerve as a volunteer, with Colonel Draper, and was mortally wounded in a ſally at the ſiege of Madras. Admiral Pococke having, to the beſt of his power, repaired his ſhattered ſhips, ſet ſail again on the tenth of May, in order to attempt the relief of Fort St. David's; but, notwithſtanding his utmoſt endeavours, he could not reach it in time to be of any ſervice. On the thirtieth day of the month

month he came in ſight of Pondicherry, from whence the French ſquadron ſtood away early next morning, nor was it in his power to come up with them, though he made all poſſible efforts for that purpoſe. Then receiving intelligence that fort St. David's was ſurrendered to the enemy, he returned again to Madras, in order to refreſh his ſquadron. On the twenty-fifth day of July, he ſailed a third time in queſt of M. d'Apché, and in two days perceived his ſquadron, conſiſting of eight ſhips of the line, and a frigate, at anchor in the road of Pondicherry. They no ſooner deſcried him advancing than they ſtood out to ſea as before, and he continued to chace, in hopes of bringing them to an engagement; but all his endeavours proved fruitleſs till the third day of Auguſt, when, having obtained the weather-gage, he bore down upon them in order of battle. The engagement began with great impetuoſity on both ſides; but in little more than ten minutes M. d'Apché ſet his fore-ſail, and bore away, his whole ſquadron following his example, and maintaining a running fight in a very irregular line. The Britiſh Admiral then hoiſted the ſignal for a general chace, which the enemy perceiving, thought proper to cut away their boats, and crowd with all the ſail they could carry. They eſcaped, by favour of the night, into the road of Pondicherry, and Mr. Pococke anchored with his ſquadron off Carical, a French ſettlement, having thus obtained an undiſputed victory, with the loſs of thirty men killed, and one hundred and ſixteen wounded, including Commodore Steevens and Captain Martin, though their wounds were not dangerous. The number of killed and wounded on board the French ſquadron amounted, according to report, to five hundred and forty; and their fleet was ſo much damaged, that in the beginning of September their Commodore ſailed for the iſland of Bourbon, in the ſame latitude with

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Madagaſcar, in order to refit; thus leaving the command and ſovereignty of the Indian ſeas to the Engliſh Admiral, whoſe fleet, from the beginning of this campaign, had been much inferior to the French ſquadron in number of ſhips and men, as well as in weight of metal.

§ XV. Mr. Lally having reduced Cuddalore and Fort St. David's*, reſolved to extort a ſum of money from the King of Tanjour, on pretence that, in the laſt war, he had granted an obligation to the French Governor for a certain ſum, which had never been paid. Lally accordingly marched with a body of three thouſand men into the dominions of Tanjour, and demanded ſeventy-two lacks of rupees. This extravagant demand being rejected, he plundered Nagare, a trading town on the ſea-coaſt, and afterwards inveſted the capital: but after he had proſecuted the ſiege until a breach was made, his proviſions and ammunition beginning to fail, ſeveral vigorous ſallies being made by the forces of the King of Tanjour, and the place well defended by European gunners, ſent from the Engliſh garriſon at Trichinopoly, he found himſelf obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and retreat with precipitation, leaving his cannon behind. He arrived at Carical about the middle of Auguſt, and from thence retired to Pondicherry towards the end of September. He afterwards cantoned his troops, in the province of Arcot, entered the city without oppoſition, and began to make preparations for the ſiege of Madras, which ſhall be recorded among the incidents of the ſucceeding year. In the mean time, the land-forces belonging to the Eaſt-India Company were ſo much out-numbered by the reinforcements which arrived with Mr. Lally, that they could not pretend to keep the field, but

* Cuddalore was in ſuch a defenceleſs condition, that it could make no reſiſtance; and there being no place in Fort St. David's bomb-proof, nor any proviſions or freſh water, the garriſon ſurrendered in twelve days, on capitulation, after having ſuſtained a ſevere bombardment.

were

were obliged to remain on the defenſive, and provide as well as they could for the ſecurity of Fort St. George, and the other ſettlements in that part of India. CHAP. IX. 1758.

§ XVI. Having particularized the events of the war which diſtinguiſhed this year in America, Africa, and Aſia, thoſe remote ſcenes in which the intereſt of Great-Britain was immediately and intimately concerned, it now remains to record the incidents of the military operations in Germany, ſupported by Britiſh ſubſidies, and enforced by Britiſh troops, to favour the abominable deſigns of an ally, from whoſe ſolitary friendſhip the Britiſh nation can never reap any ſolid benefit; and to defend a foreign Elector, in whoſe behalf ſhe had already laviſhed an immenſity of treaſure. Notwithſtanding the bloodſhed and ravages which had ſignalized the former campaign, the mutual loſſes of the belligerent powers, the incredible expence of money, the difficulty of recruiting armies thinned by ſword and diſtemper, the ſcarcity of forage and proviſion, the diſtreſſes of Saxony in particular, and the calamities of war, which deſolated the greateſt part of the empire, no propoſition of peace was hinted by either of the parties concerned; but the powers at variance ſeemed to be exaſperated againſt each other with the moſt implacable reſentment. Jarring intereſts were harmoniſed, old prejudices rooted up, inveterate jealouſies aſſuaged, and even inconſiſtencies reconciled, in connecting the confederacy which was now formed and eſtabliſhed againſt the King of Pruſſia; and, on the other hand, the King of Great-Britain, ſeemed determined to employ the whole power and influence of his crown in ſupporting this Monarch. Yet the members of the grand confederacy were differently actuated by diſagreeing motives, which, in the ſequel, operated for the preſervation of his Pruſſian Majeſty, by preventing the full exertion of their united ſtrength. The Empreſs-Queen, over and

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bove her desire of retrieving Silesia, which was her primary aim, gave way to the suggestions of personal hatred and revenge, to the gratification of which she may be said to have sacrificed, in some measure, the interests of her family, as well as the repose of the Empire, by admitting the natural enemies of her House into the Austrian Netherlands, and inviting them to invade the dominions of her coestates with a formidable army. France, true to her old political maxims, wished to see the House of Austria weakened by the divisions in the Empire, which she accordingly fomented: for this reason it could not be her interest to effect the ruin of the House of Brandenburgh: and therefore she had, no doubt, set bounds to the prosecution of her schemes in concert with the Court of Vienna; but her designs against Hanover amounted to absolute conquest: in pursuance of these, she sent an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men across the Rhine, instead of four-and-twenty thousand, which she had engaged to furnish by the original treaty with the Empress-Queen of Hungary, who is said to have shared in the spoils of the electorate. The Czarina, by cooperating with the Houses of Bourbon and Austria, gratified her personal disgust towards the Prussian Monarch, augmented her finances by considerable subsidies from both, and perhaps amused herself with the hope of obtaining an establishment in the German Empire; but whether she wavered in her own sentiments, or her ministry fluctuated between the promises of France and the presents of Great-Britain, certain it is, her forces had not acted with vigour in Pomerania; and her General Apraxin, instead of prosecuting his advantage, had retreated immediately after the Prussians miscarried in their attack. He was indeed disgraced, and tried for having thus retired without orders; but in all probability, this trial was no other than a farce, acted to amuse the other confederates, while the Empress of Russia

Ruſſia gained time to deliberate upon the offers that were made, and determine with regard to the advantages or diſadvantages that might accrue to her from perſevering in the engagements which ſhe had contracted. As for the Swedes, although they had been inſtigated to hoſtilities againſt Pruſſia by the intrigues of France, and flattered with hopes of retrieving Pomerania, they proſecuted the war in ſuch a diſpirited and ineffectual manner, as plainly proved that either the ancient valour of that people was extinct, or that the nation was not heartily engaged in the quarrel. CHAP. IX. 1758.

§ XVII. When the Ruſſian General Apraxin retreated from Pomerania, Mareſchal Lehwald, who commanded the Pruſſians in that country, was left at liberty to turn his arms againſt the Swedes, and accordingly drove them before him almoſt without oppoſition. By the beginning of January they had evacuated all Pruſſian Pomerania, and Lehwald invaded their dominions in his turn. He, in a little time, made himſelf maſter of all Swediſh Pomerania, except Stralſund and the iſle of Rugen, and poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral magazines which the enemy had erected. The Auſtrian army after their defeat at Breſlau, had retired into Bohemia, where they were cantoned, the head-quarters being fixed at Koninſgratz. The King of Pruſſia having cleared all his part of Sileſia, except the town of Schweidnitz, which he circumſcribed with a blockade, ſent detachments from his army cantoned in the neighbourhood of Breſlau, to penetrate into the Auſtrian or ſouthern part of Sileſia, where they ſurprized Troppau and Jaggernſdorf, while he himſelf remained at Breſlau, entertaining his officers with concerts of muſick. Not that he ſuffered theſe amuſements to divert his attention from ſubjects of greater importance. He laid Swediſh Pomerania under contribution, and made a freſh demand of five hundred thouſand crowns from the electorate of

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Saxony. Having received intimation that the Duke of Mecklenbourg was employed in providing magazines for the French army, he detached a body of troops into that country, who not only ſecured the magazines, but levied conſiderable contributions; and the duke retired to Lubeck, attended by the French miniſter. The States of Saxony having proved a little dilatory in obeying his Pruſſian Majeſty's injunction, received a ſecond intimation, importing that they ſhould levy and deliver, within a certain time, eighteen thouſand recruits for his army, pay into the hands of his commiſſary one year's revenue of the electorate in advance; and Leipzick was taxed with an extraordinary ſubſidy of eight hundred thouſand crowns, on pain of military execution. The States were immediately convoked at Leipzick in order to deliberate on theſe demands; and the city being unable to pay ſuch a conſiderable ſum, the Pruſſian troops began to put their Monarch's threats in execution. He juſtified theſe proceedings, by declaring that the enemy had practiſed the ſame violence and oppreſſion on the territories of his allies; but how the practice of his declared enemies, in the countries which they had invaded and ſubdued in common courſe of war, ſhould juſtify him in pillaging and oppreſſing a people with whom neither he nor his allies were at war, it is not eaſy to conceive. As little can we reconcile this conduct to the character of a Prince, aſſuming the title of Protector of the Proteſtant Religion, which is the eſtabliſhed faith among thoſe very Saxons who were ſubjected to ſuch grievous impoſitions; impoſitions the more grievous and unmerited, as they had never taken any ſhare in the preſent war, but cautiouſly avoided every ſtep that might be conſtrued into provocation, ſince the King of Pruſſia declared they might depend upon his protection.

§ XVIII. Before we proceed to enumerate the events of the campaign, it may be neceſſary to inform

form the reader, that the forces brought into the field by the Empreſs-Queen of Hungary, and the States of the Empire, the Czarina, the Kings of France and Sweden, fell very little ſhort of three hundred thouſand men; and all theſe were deſtined to act againſt the King of Pruſſia and the Elector of Hanover. In oppoſition to this formidable confederacy, his Pruſſian Majeſty was, by the ſubſidy from England, the ſpoils of Saxony, and the revenues of Brandenbourg, enabled to maintain an army of one hundred and forty thouſand men; while the Elector of Hanover aſſembled a body of ſixty thouſand men, compoſed of his own electoral troops, with the auxiliary mercenaries of Heſſe-Caſſel, Buckebourg, Saxegotha, and Brunſwick Wolfenbuttel, all of them maintained by the pay of Great-Britain. At this juncture, indeed, there was no other fund for their ſubſiſtence, as the countries of Hanover and Heſſe were poſſeſſed by the enemy, and in the former the government was entirely changed. CHAP. IX. 1758.

§ XIX. In the month of December in the preceding year, a farmer of the revenues from Paris arrived at Hanover, where he eſtabliſhed his office, in order to act by virtue of powers from one John Faidy, to whom the French King granted the direction, receipt, and adminiſtration of all the duties and revenues of the electorate. This director was, by a decree of the Council of State, empowered to receive the revenues, not only of Hanover, but alſo of all other countries that ſhould be ſubjected to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in the courſe of the campaign; to remove the receivers who had been employed in any part of the direction, receipt, and adminiſtration of the duties and revenues of Hanover, and appoint others in their room. The French King, by the ſame decree, ordained, that all perſons who had been entruſted under the preceding government with titles, papers, accounts, regiſters,

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or eſtimates, relating to the adminiſtration of the revenues, ſhould communicate them to John Faidy, or his attornies; that the magiſtrates of the town, diſtricts, and commonalties, as well as thoſe who directed the adminiſtration of particular ſtates and provinces, ſhould deliver to the ſaid John Faidy, or his attornies, the produce of ſix years of the duties and revenues belonging to the ſaid towns, diſtricts, and provinces, reckoning from the firſt of January in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-one, together with an authentick account of the ſums they had paid during that term to the preceding Sovereign, and of the charges neceſſarily incurred. It appears from the nature of this decree, which was dated on the eighteenth day of October, that immediately after the conventions of Cloſter-Seven and Bremenworden*, the Court of Verſailles had determined to change the government and ſyſtem of the electorate, contrary to an expreſs article of the capitulation granted to the city of Hanover, when it ſurrendered on the ninth day of Auguſt; and that the Crown of France intended to take advantage of the ceſſation of arms, in ſeizing places and provinces which were not yet ſubdued: for, by the decree above-mentioned the adminiſtration of John Faidy extended to the countries which might hereafter be conquered. With what regard to juſtice, then, could the French government charge the Elector of Hanover with the infraction of articles? or what reſpect to good faith and humanity did the Duke de Richelieu obſerve, in the order iſſued from Zell, towards the end of the year, importing, that as the treaty made with the country of Hanover had been rendered void by the violation of the articles ſigned at Cloſter-Seven, all the effects belonging to

* Six days after the convention was ſigned at Cloſter-Seven, another act of accommodation was concluded at Bremenworden, between the Generals Sporcken and Villemur, relating to the releaſe of priſoners, and ſome other points omitted in the convention.

the officers, or others, employed in the Hanoverian army, ſhould be confiſcated for the uſe of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty?

§ XX. The Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, being deſirous of averting a like ſtorm from his dominions, not only promiſed to renounce all connection with the Kings of Great-Britain and Pruſſia, but even ſolicited the Court of France to receive him among the number of its dependents; for, on the eighteenth day of October, the miniſter of the Duc de Deux-ponts, delivered at Verſailles, in the name of the Landgrave, the plan of a treaty founded on the following conditions: The Landgrave, after having expreſſed an ardent deſire of attaching himſelf wholly to France, propoſed theſe articles: That he ſhould enter into no engagement againſt the King and his allies; and give no aſſiſtance, directly or indirectly to the enemies of his Majeſty and his allies: that he ſhould never give his vote, in the general or particular aſſemblies of the Empire, againſt his Majeſty's intereſt; but, on the contrary, employ his intereſt, jointly with France, to quiet the troubles of the Empire: that, for this end, his troops, which had ſerved in the Hanoverian army, ſhould engage in the ſervice of France, on condition that they ſhould not act in the preſent war againſt his Britannick Majeſty: that, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhould reſtore the dominions of the Landgrave in the ſame condition they were in when ſubdued by the French forces: that theſe dominions ſhould be exempted from all further contributions, either in money, corn, forage, wood, or cattle, though already impoſed on the ſubjects of Heſſe; and the French troops pay for all the proviſion with which they might be ſupplied; in which caſe the Landgrave ſhould exact no toll for warlike ſtores, proviſions, or other articles of that nature, which might paſs through his dominions: that the King of France ſhould guarantee all his eſtates, all the

BOOK III. 1758. the rights of the houſe of Heſſe-Caſſel, particularly the act of aſſurance ſigned by his ſon, the hereditary prince, with regard to religion; uſe his intereſt with the Emperor and the Empreſs-Queen, that, in conſideration of the immenſe loſſes and damages his moſt Serene Highneſs had ſuffered ſince the French invaded his country, and of the great ſums he ſhould loſe with England in arrears and ſubſidies by this accommodation, he might be excuſed from furniſhing his contingent to the army of the Empire, as well as from paying the Roman months granted by the diet of the Empire; and if, in reſentment of this convention, the ſtates of his Serene Highneſs ſhould be attacked, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhould afford the moſt ſpeedy and effectual ſuccours. Theſe propoſals will ſpeak for themſelves to the reader's apprehenſion; and if he is not blinded by the darkeſt miſts of prejudice, exhibit a clear and diſtinct idea of a genuine German ally. The Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel had been fed with the good things of England, even in time of peace, when his friendſhip could not avail, nor his averſion prejudice the intereſts of Great-Britain: but he was retained in that ſeaſon of tranquillity as a friend, on whoſe ſervices the moſt implicit dependence might be placed in any future ſtorm or commotion. How far he merited this confidence and favour might have been determined by reflecting on his conduct during the former war: in the courſe of which his troops were hired to the King of Great-Britain and his enemies alternately, as the ſcale of convenience happened to preponderate. Since the commencement of the preſent troubles, he had acted as a mercenary to Great-Britain, although he was a principal in the diſpute, and ſtood connected with her deſigns by ſolemn treaty, as well as by all the ties of gratitude and honour: but now that the cauſe of Hanover ſeemed to be on the decline, and his own dominions had ſuffered by the fate of the war, he not only appeared willing

willing to abandon his benefactor and ally, but even sued to be inlisted in the service of his adversary. This intended defection was, however, prevented by a sudden turn of fortune, which he could not possibly foresee; and his troops continued to act in conjunction with the Hanoverians. CHAP. IX. 1758.

§ XXI. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was not singular in making such advances to the French Monarch. The Duke of Brunswick, still more nearly connected with the King of Great-Britain, used such uncommon expedition in detaching himself from the tottering fortune of Hanover, that in ten days after the convention of Closter-Seven he had concluded a treaty with the Courts of Vienna and Versailles; so that the negociation must have been begun before that convention took place. On the twentieth day of September his minister at Vienna, by virtue of full powers from the Duke of Brunswick, accepted and signed the conditions which the French King and his Austrian ally thought proper to impose. These imported, That his Most Christian Majesty should keep possession of the cities of Brunswick and Wolfenbuttel during the war, and make use of the artillery, arms, and military stores deposited in their arsenals: that the Duke's forces, on their return from the camp of the Duke of Cumberland, should be disbanded and disarmed; and take an oath, that they should not, during the present war, serve against the King or his allies: that the Duke should be permitted to maintain a battalion of foot, and two squadrons of horse, for the guard of his person and castles; but the regulations made by Mareschal Richelieu and the intendant of his army should subsist on their present footing: that the Duke should furnish his contingent in money and troops, agreeably to the laws of the Empire: that his forces should immediately join those which the Germanick body had assembled; and that he should order his minister at Ratisbon to vote conformably to the re-

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ſolutions of the diet, approved and confirmed by the Emperor. In conſideration of all theſe conceſſions, the Duke was reſtored to the favour of the French King, who graciouſly promiſed that neither his revenues nor his treaſure ſhould be touched, nor the adminiſtration of juſtice invaded; and that nothing further ſhould be demanded, but winter-quarters for the regiments which ſhould paſs that ſeaſon in the country of Brunſwick. How ſcrupulouſly ſoever the Duke might have intended to obſerve the articles of this treaty, his intentions were fruſtrated by the conduct of his brother Prince Ferdinand, who, being inveſted with the command of the Hanoverian army, and ordered to reſume the operations of war againſt the enemy, detained the troops of Brunſwick, as well as his nephew the Hereditary Prince, notwithſtanding the treaty which his brother had ſigned, and the injunctions which he had laid upon his ſon to quit the army, and make a tour to Holland. The Duke wrote an expoſtulatory letter to Prince Ferdinand, pathetically complaining that he had ſeduced his troops, decoyed his ſon, and diſgraced his family; inſiſting upon the Prince's purſuing his journey, as well as upon the return of the troops: and threatening, in caſe of non-compliance, to uſe other means that ſhould be more effectual*. Notwithſtanding

* Tranſlation of the letter written by the Duke of Brunſwick to his brother Prince Ferdinand:

SIR,

"I KNOW you too well to doubt that the ſituation in which we ſtand at preſent, with reſpect to each other, gives you abundance of uneaſineſs; nor will you doubt that it gives me equal concern: indeed, it afflicts me greatly. Mean while I could never, my deareſt brother, have believed that you would be the perſon who ſhould carry away from me my eldeſt ſon. I am exceedingly mortified to find myſelf under the hard neceſſity of telling you that this ſtep is contrary to the law of nations, and the conſtitution of the Empire; and that, if you perſiſt in it, you will diſgrace your family, and bring a ſtain upon your country, which you pretend to ſerve. The Hereditary Prince, my ſon, was at Hamburgh by my order, and you have carried him to Stade. Could he diſtruſt his uncle, an uncle who hath done ſo much honour to his family? Could he believe that this uncle would deprive him of liberty, a liberty never refuſed to the loweſt officer?

withſtanding this warm remonſtrance, Prince Ferdinand adhered to his plan. He detained the troops and the Hereditary Prince, who, being fond of the ſervice, in a little time ſignaliſed himſelf by very

officer? I ordered him to make a tour to Holland: could not the loweſt officer have done as much? Let us ſuppoſe for a moment, that my troops, among whom he ſerved, were to have ſtaid with the Hanoverians, would it not have been ſtill in my power to give an officer leave of abſence, or even leave to reſign his commiſſion? and would you hinder your brother, the head of your family, and of ſuch a family as ours, to exerciſe this right with regard to a ſon, who is the Hereditary Prince, of whoſe rights and prerogatives you cannot be ignorant? It is impoſſible you could have conceived ſuch deſigns, without the ſuggeſtion of others. Thoſe who did ſuggeſt them have trampled on the rights of nature, of nations, and of the princes of Germany; they have induced you to add to all theſe the moſt cruel inſult on a brother whom you love, and who always loved you with the warmeſt affection. Would you have your brother lay his juſt complaints againſt you before the whole Empire, and all Europe? Are not your proceedings without example? What is Germany become? What are its princes become, and our houſe in particular? Is it the intereſt of the two kings, the cauſe of your country, and my cauſe that you pretend to ſupport?—I repeat it, brother, that this deſign could not have been framed by you. I again command my ſon to purſue his journey; and I cannot conceive you will give the leaſt obſtruction; if you ſhould (which I pray God avert) I ſolemnly declare that I will not be conſtrained by ſuch meaſures, nor ſhall I ever forget what I owe to myſelf. As to my troops, you may ſee what I have written on that head to the Hanoverian miniſtry. The Duke of Cumberland, by the convention of Cloſter-Seven, diſmiſſed them, and ſent them home; the ſaid miniſtry gave me notice of this convention, as a treaty by which I was bound. The march of the troops was ſettled; and an incident happening, they halted: that obſtacle being removed, they were to have continued their march. The Court of Hanover will be no longer bound by the convention, while I not only accepted it on their word, but have alſo, in conformity with their inſtructions, negotiated at Verſailles, and at Vienna. After all theſe ſteps, they would have me contradict myſelf, break my word, and entirely ruin my eſtate, as well as my honour. Did you ever know your brother guilty of ſuch things? True it is, I have, as you ſay, ſacrificed my all; or rather, I have been ſacrificed. The only thing left me is my honour; and in the unhappy contraſt of our ſituations, I lament both you and myſelf, that it ſhould be from you, my dear brother, I ſhould receive the cruel advice to give up my honour. I cannot liſten to it; I cannot recede from my promiſe. My troops, therefore, muſt return home, agreeably to what the Duke of Cumberland and the Hanoverian miniſtry ſtipulated with regard to me in the ſtrongeſt manner. I am afraid that the true circumſtances of things are concealed from you. Not to detain your expreſs too long, I ſhall ſend you, by the poſt, copies of all I have written to the Hanoverian miniſtry. It will grieve your honeſt heart to read it. I am, with a heart almoſt broken, yet full of tenderneſs for you, your, &c.

"Blanckenbourg, Nov. 27, 1757."

extraordinary

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extraordinary acts of bravery and conduct; and means were found to reconcile his father to meaſures that expreſsly contradicted his engagements with the Courts of Vienna and Verſailles.

§ XXII. The defeat of the French army at Roſbach, and the retreat of the Ruſſians from Pomerania, had entirely changed the face of affairs in the Empire. The French King was ſoon obliged to abandon his conqueſts on that ſide of the Rhine, and his threats ſounded no longer terrible in the ears of the Hanoverian and Pruſſian allies. As little formidable were the denunciations of the Emperor, who had, by a decree of the Aulick council, communicated to the diet certain mandates, iſſued in the month of Auguſt in the preceding year, on pain of the ban of the Empire, with avocatory letters annexed, againſt the King of Great-Britain, Elector of Hanover, and the other princes acting in concert with the King of Pruſſia. The French Court likewiſe publiſhed a virulent memorial, after the convention of Cloſter-Seven had been violated, and ſet aſide, drawing an invidious parallel between the conduct of the French King and the proceedings of his Britannick Majeſty; in which the latter is taxed with breach of faith, and almoſt every meanneſs that could ſtain the character of a Monarch. In anſwer to the Emperor's decree, and this virulent charge, Baron Gimmengen, the electoral miniſter of Brunſwick Lunenbourg, preſented to the diet, in November, a long memorial, recapitulating the important ſervices his Sovereign had done the Houſe of Auſtria, and the ungrateful returns he had reaped, in the Queen's refuſing to aſſiſt him, when his dominions were threatened with an invaſion. He enumerated many inſtances in which ſhe had aſſiſted, encouraged, and even joined the enemies of the electorate, in contempt of her former encouragements, and directly contrary to the conſtitution of the Empire. He refuted every article of the charge which the French Court

Court had brought againſt him in their virulent libel, retorted the imputations of perfidy and ambition, and, with reſpect to France, juſtified every particular of his own conduct. CHAP. IX. 1758.

§ XXIII. While the French and Hanoverian armies remained in their winter-quarters, the former at Zell, and the latter at Lunenbourg, divers petty enterpriſes were executed by detachments with various ſucceſs. The Hanoverian General Juncheim, having taken poſt at Halberſtadt and Quedlimbourg, from whence he made excurſions even to the gates of Brunſwick, and kept the French army in continual alarm, was viſited by a large body of the enemy, who compelled him to retire to Acherſleben, committed great exceſſes in the town of Halberſtadt and its neighbourhood, and carried off hoſtages for the payment of contributions. General Hardenberg, another Hanoverian officer, having diſlodged the French detachments that occupied Burgh, Vogelſack, and Ritterhude, and cleared the whole territory of Bremen; in the month of January the Duke de Broglio aſſembled a conſiderable corps of troops that were cantoned at Otterſburg, Rothenburg, and the adjacent country, and advancing to Bremen, demanded admittance, threatening that, in caſe of a refuſal, he would have recourſe to extremities, and puniſh the inhabitants ſeverely, ſhould they make the leaſt oppoſition. When their deputies waited upon him, to deſire a ſhort time for deliberation, he anſwered, "Not a moment—the Duke de Richelieu's orders are peremptory, and admit of no delay." He accordingly ordered the cannon to advance; the wall was ſcaled, and the gates would have been forced open, had not the magiſtrates, at the earneſt importunity of the people, reſolved to comply with his demand. A ſecond deputation was immediately diſpatched to the Duke de Broglio, ſignifying their compliance; and the gates being opened,

he

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he marched into the city at midnight, after having promiſed upon his honour that no attempt ſhould be made to the prejudice of its rights and prerogatives, and no outrage offered to the privileges of the regency, to the liberty, religion, and commerce of the inhabitants. This conqueſt, however, was of ſhort duration. Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick being joined by a body of Pruſſian horſe, under the command of Prince George of Holſtein Gottorp, the whole army was put in motion, and advanced to the country of Bremen about the middle of February. The enemy were diſlodged from Rothenburg, Otterſburg, and Verden, and they abandoned the city of Bremen at the approach of the Hanoverian General, who took poſſeſſion of it without oppoſition.

§ XXIV. By this time the Court of Verſailles, being diſſatisfied with the conduct of the Duke de Richelieu, had recalled that General from Germany, where his place was ſupplied by the Count de Clermont, to the general ſatisfaction of the army, as well as the joy of the Hanoverian ſubjects, among whom Richelieu had committed many flagrant and inhuman acts of rapine and oppreſſion. The new commander found his maſter's forces reduced to a deplorable condition, by the accidents of war, and diſtempers ariſing from hard duty, ſevere weather, and the want of neceſſaries. As he could not pretend, with ſuch a wretched remnant, to oppoſe the deſigns of Prince Ferdinand in the field, or even maintain the footing which his predeceſſor had gained, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of retiring with all poſſible expedition towards the Rhine. As the Allies advanced, his troops retreated from their diſtant quarters with ſuch precipitation, as to leave behind all their ſick, together with a great part of their baggage and artillery, beſides a great number of officers and ſoldiers, that fell into the hands of thoſe parties by whom they were purſued.

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The inhabitants of Hanover, perceiving the French intended to abandon that city, were overwhelmed with the fear of being ſubjected to every ſpecies of violence and abuſe; but their apprehenſions were happily diſappointed by the honour and integrity of the Duke de Randan, the French Governor, who not only took effectual meaſures for reſtraining the ſoldiers within the bounds of the moſt rigid diſcipline and moderation, but likewiſe exhibited a noble proof of generoſity, almoſt without example. Inſtead of deſtroying his magazine of proviſions, according to the uſual practice of war, he ordered the whole to be either ſold at a low price, or diſtributed among the poor of the city, who had been long expoſed to the horrors of famine: an act of godlike humanity, which ought to dignify the character of that worthy nobleman above all the titles that military fame can deſerve, or arbitrary Monarchs beſtow. The regency of Hanover were ſo deeply impreſſed with a ſenſe of his heroick behaviour on this occaſion, that they gratefully acknowledged it, in a letter of thanks to him and the Count de Clermont; and on the day of ſolemn thankſgiving to Heaven, for their being delivered from their enemies, the clergy, in their ſermons, did not fail to celebrate and extol the charity and benevolence of the Duke de Randan. Such glorious teſtimonies, even from enemies, muſt have afforded the moſt exquiſite pleaſure to a mind endued with ſenſibility; and this, no doubt, may be termed one of the faireſt triumphs of humanity. CHAP. IX. 1758.

§ XXV. The two grand diviſions of the French army, quartered at Zell and Hanover, retired in good order to Hamelen, where they collected all their troops, except thoſe that were left in Hoya, and about four thouſand men placed in garriſon at Minden, to retard the operations of the combined army. Towards the latter end of February, Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, having received intelligence that the Count de Chabot was poſted with a conſiderable

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body of troops at Hoya, upon the Weſer, detached the Hereditary Prince of Brunſwick, with four battalions, and ſome light troops and dragoons to diſlodge them from that neighbourhood. This enterpriſe was executed with the utmoſt intrepidity. The Hereditary Prince paſſed the Weſer at Bremen with part of his detachment, while the reſt advanced on this ſide of the river; and the enemy, being attacked in front and rear, were in a little time forced, and thrown into confuſion. The bridge being abandoned, and near ſeven hundred men taken priſoners, the Count de Chabot threw himſelf, with two battalions, into the caſtle, where he reſolved to ſupport himſelf, in hope of being relieved. The regiment of Bretagne, and ſome detachments of dragoons, were actually on the march to his aſſiſtance. The Hereditary Prince being made acquainted with this circumſtance, being alſo deſtitute of heavy artillery to beſiege the place in form, and taking it for granted he ſhould not be able to maintain the poſt after it might be taken, he liſtened to the terms of capitulation propoſed by the French General, whoſe garriſon was ſuffered to march out with the honours of war; but their cannon, ſtores, and ammunition were ſurrendered to the victor. This was the firſt exploit of the Hereditary Prince, whoſe valour and activity, on many ſubſequent occaſions, ſhone with diſtinguiſhed luſtre. He had no ſooner reduced Hoya, than he marched to the attack of Minden, which he inveſted on the fifth day of march, and on the fourteenth the garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion. After the reduction of this city, the combined army advanced towards Hamelen, where the French General had eſtabliſhed his head-quarters: but he abandoned them at the approach of the Allies, and leaving behind all his ſick and wounded, with part of his magazines, retired without halting to Paderborn, and from thence to the Rhine, recalling in his march the troops that were in Embden, Caſſel, and

the landgraviate of Heſſe, all which places were now evacuated. They were terribly haraſſed in their retreat by the Pruſſian huſſars, and a body of light horſe, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Hanoverian hunters, who took a great number of priſoners, together with many baggage-waggons, and ſome artillery. Such was the precipitation of the enemy's retreat, that they could not find time to deſtroy all their magazines of proviſion and forage; and even forgot to call in the garriſon of Vechte, a ſmall fortreſs in the neighbourhood of Diepholt, who were made priſoners of war, and here was found a complete train of battering cannon and mortars. The Count de Clermont, having reached the banks of the Rhine, diſtributed his forces into quarters of cantonment in Weſel and the adjoining country, while Prince Ferdinand cantoned the allied army in the biſhoprick of Munſter: here, however, he did not long remain inactive. In the latter end of May he ordered a detachment to paſs the Rhine at Duyſbourg, under the command of Colonel Scheither, who executed his order without loſs, defeated three battalions of the enemy, and took five pieces of cannon. In the beginning of June the whole army paſſed the Rhine, on a bridge conſtructed for the occaſion, defeated a body of French cavalry, and obtained divers other advantages in their march towards Weſel. Kaiſerſworth was ſurpriſed, the greater part of the garriſon either killed or taken; and Prince Ferdinand began to make preparations for the ſiege of Duſſeldorp. In the mean time, the Count de Clermont, being unable to ſtop the rapidity of his progreſs, was obliged to ſecure his troops with ſtrong entrenchments, until he ſhould be properly reinforced.

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§ XXVI. The Court of Verſailles, though equally mortified and confounded at the turn of their affairs in Germany, did not ſit tamely and behold this reverſe; but exerted their uſual ſpirit and expedition

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in retrieving the loſſes they had ſuſtained. They aſſembled a body of troops at Hanau, under the direction of the Prince de Soubiſe, who, it was ſaid, had received orders to penetrate, by the way of Donawert, Ingolſtadt, and Arnberg, into Bohemia. In the mean time, reinforcements daily arrived in the camp of the Count de Clermont; and, as repeated complaints had been made of the want of diſcipline and ſubordination in that army, meaſures were taken for reforming the troops by ſeverity and example. The Mareſchal Duke de Belleiſle, who now acted as Secretary at War with uncommon ability, wrote a letter directed to all the Colonels of infantry, threatening them, in the King's name, with the loſs of their regiments, ſhould they connive any longer at the ſcandalous practice of buying commiſſions; an abuſe which had crept into the ſervice under various pretexts to the diſcouragement of merit, the relaxation of diſcipline, and the total extinction of laudable emulation. The Prince of Clermont having quitted his ſtrong camp at Rhineſeldt, retired to Nuys, a little higher up the river, and detached a conſiderable corps, under the command of the Count de St. Germain, to take poſt at Crevelt, ſituated in a plain between his army and the camp of the Allies, which fronted the town of Meurs: after ſeveral motions on both ſides, Prince Ferdinand reſolved to attack the enemy, and forthwith made a diſpoſition for this purpoſe. He aſſigned the command of the whole left wing, conſiſting of eighteen battalions and twenty-eight ſquadrons, to Lieutenant-General Sporcken: the conduct of the right wing, compoſed of ſixteen battalions and fourteen ſquadrons, was entruſted to the Hereditary Prince and Major-General Wangenheim; the ſquadrons, with the addition of two regiments of Pruſſian dragoons, were under the immediate direction of the Prince of Holſtein, while the Hereditary Prince commanded the infantry. The light troops, conſiſting of five

squadrons of huſſars, were divided between the Prince of Holſtein and Lieutenant-General Sporcken. Major Luckner's ſquadron, together with Scheither's corps, were ordered to obſerve the flank of the enemy's right, and with this view were poſted in the village of Papendeick; and a battalion of the troops of Wolfenbuttel were left in the town of Hulſte, to cover the rear of the army. Prince Ferdinand's deſign was to attack the enemy on their left flank; but the execution was rendered extremely difficult by the woods and ditches that embarraſſed the route, and the numerous ditches that interſected this part of the country. On the twenty-third day of June, at four in the morning, the army began to move; the right advancing in two columns as far as St. Anthony, and the left marching up within half a league of Crevelt. The Prince having viewed the poſition of the enemy from the ſteeple of St. Anthony, procured guides, and having received all the neceſſary hints of information, proceeded to the right, in order to charge the enemy's left flank by the villages of Worſt and Anrath; but, in order to divide their attention, and keep them in ſuſpenſe with reſpect to the nature of his principal attack, he directed the Generals Sporcken and Oberg to advance againſt them by the way of Crevelt and St. Anthony, and, in particular, to make the moſt of their artillery, that, being employed in three different places at once, they might be prevented from ſending any reinforcement to the left, where the chief attack was intended. Theſe precautions being taken, Prince Ferdinand, putting himſelf at the head of the grenadiers of the right wing, continued his march in two columns to the village of Anrath, where he fell in with an advanced party of the French, which, after a few diſcharges of muſquetry, retired to their camp and gave the alarm. In the mean time, both armies were drawn up in order of battle; the troops of the Allies in the plain between the villages of An-

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rath and Willich, oppoſite to the French forces, whoſe left was covered with a wood. The action began about one in the afternoon, with a ſevere cannonading on the part of Prince Ferdinand, which, though well ſupported, proved ineffectual in drawing the enemy from their cover: he, therefore, determined to diſlodge them from the wood by dint of ſmall arms. The Hereditary Prince immediately advanced with the whole front, and a very obſtinate action enſued. Meanwhile, the cavalry on the right in vain attempted to penetrate the wood on the other ſide, where the enemy had raiſed two batteries, which were ſuſtained by forty ſquadrons of horſe. After a terrible fire had been maintained on both ſides, till five in the afternoon, the grenadiers forced the entrenchments in the wood, which were lined by the French infantry. Theſe giving way, abandoned the wood in the utmoſt diſorder; but the purſuit was checked by the conduct and reſolution of the enemy's cavalry, which, notwithſtanding a dreadful fire from the artillery of the Allies, maintained their ground, and covered the foot in their retreat to Nuys. The ſucceſs of the day was, in a good meaſure, owing to the artillery on the left and in the centre, with which the Generals Sporcken and Oberg had done great execution, and employed the attention of the enemy on that ſide, while Prince Ferdinand proſecuted his attack on the other quarter. It muſt be owned, however, that their right wing and centre retired in great order to Nuys, though the left was defeated, with the loſs of ſome ſtandards, colours, and pieces of cannon, and ſix thouſand men killed, wounded, or taken priſoners*. This victory,

* Among the French officers who loſt their lives in this engagement, was the Count de Giſors, only ſon of the Mareſchal Duke de Belleiſle, and laſt hope of that illuſtrious family, a young nobleman of extraordinary accompliſhments, who finiſhed a ſhort life of honour in the embrace of military glory, and fell gallantly fighting at the head of his own regiment, to the inexpreſſible grief of his aged father, and the univerſal regret of his country.

however,

however, which coſt the Allies about fifteen hundred men, was not at all deciſive in its conſequences; and, indeed, the plan ſeemed only calculated to diſplay the enterpriſing genius of the Hanoverian General. True it is, the French army took refuge under the cannon of Cologn, where they remained, without hazarding any ſtep for the relief of Duſſeldorp, which Prince Ferdinand immediately inveſted, and in a few days reduced, the garriſon being allowed to march out with the honours of war, on condition that they ſhould not, for the ſpace of one year, carry arms againſt the Allies. CHAP. IX. 1758.

§ XXVII. It was at this period that Count de Clermont reſigned his command, which was conferred upon M. de Contades, and the French army was conſiderably reinforced. He even threatened to attack Prince Ferdinand in his turn, and made ſome motions with that deſign, but was prevented by the little river Erff, behind which the Prince reſolved to lie quiet, until he ſhould be joined by the body of Britiſh troops under the command of the Duke of Marlborough, the firſt diviſion of which had juſt landed at Embden. He flattered himſelf that the Prince of Yſembourg, at the head of the Heſſian troops, would find employment for the Prince de Soubiſe, who had marched from Hanau, with a deſign to penetrate into the landgraviate of Heſſe-Caſſel: his vanguard had been already ſurpriſed and defeated by the militia of the country: and the Prince of Yſembourg was at the head of a conſiderable body of regular forces, aſſembled to oppoſe his further progreſs. Prince Ferdinand, therefore, hoped that the operations of the French General would be effectually impeded, until he himſelf, being joined by the Britiſh troops, ſhould be in a condition to paſs the Meuſe, transfer the ſeat of war into the enemy's country, thus make a diverſion from the Rhine, and perhaps oblige the Prince de Soubiſe to come to the aſſiſtance of the principal

BOOK III. 1758. French army commanded by M. de Contades. He had formed a plan which would have anſwered theſe purpoſes effectually, and, in execution of it, marched to Ruremond on the Maeſe, when his meaſures were totally diſconcerted by a variety of incidents which he could not foreſee. The Prince of Yſembourg was, on the twenty-third day of July, defeated at Sangarſhauſen by the Duke de Broglio, whom the Prince de Soubiſe had detached againſt him with a number of troops greatly ſuperior to that which the Heſſian General commanded. The Duke de Broglio, who commanded the corps that formed the vanguard of Soubiſe's army, having learned at Caſſel, that the Heſſian troops, under the Prince of Yſembourg, were retiring towards Munden, he advanced, on the twenty-third of July, with a body of eight thouſand men, to the village of Sangarſhauſen, where he found them drawn up in order of battle, and forthwith made a diſpoſition for the attack. At firſt his cavalry were repulſed by the Heſſian horſe, which charged the French infantry, and were broke in their turn. The Heſſians, though greatly inferior in number to the enemy, made a very obſtinate reſiſtance, by favour of a rock in the Fulde that covered their right, and a wood by which their left was ſecured. The diſpute was ſo obſtinate, that the enemy's left was obliged to give ground; but the Duke de Broglio, ordering a freſh corps to advance, changed the fortune of the day. The Heſſians, overpowered by numbers, gave way; part plunged into the river, where many periſhed, and part threw themſelves into the wood, through which they eſcaped from the purſuit of the huſſars, who took above two hundred ſoldiers and fifty officers, including the Count de Canitz, who was ſecond in command. They likewiſe found on the field of battle ſeven pieces of cannon, and eight at Munden: but the carnage was pretty conſiderable, and nearly equal on both ſides. The number of the killed and wounded,

wounded, on the ſide of the French, exceeded two thouſand; the loſs of the Heſſians was not ſo great. The Prince of Yſembourg, having collected the remains of his little army, took poſt at Eimbeck, where he ſoon was reinforced, and found himſelf at the head of twelve thouſand men: but, in conſequence of this advantage, the enemy became maſters of the Weſer, and opened to themſelves a free paſſage into Weſtphalia. CHAP. IX. 1758.

§ XXVIII. The progreſs of Prince Ferdinand upon the Maeſe, had been retarded by a long ſucceſſion of heavy rains, which broke up the roads, and rendered the country impaſſable; and now the certain information of this unlucky check left him no alternative but a battle or a retreat acroſs the Rhine: the firſt was carefully avoided by the enemy; the latter reſolution, therefore, he found himſelf under a neceſſity to embrace. In his preſent poſition he was hampered by the French army on one wing, on the other by the fortreſs of Gueldres, the garriſon of which had been lately reinforced, as well as by divers other poſts, capable of obſtructing the convoys and ſubſiſtence of the combined army: beſides, he had reaſon to apprehend, that the Prince de Soubiſe would endeavour to intercept the Britiſh troops in their march from Embden. Induced by theſe conſiderations, he determined to repaſs the Rhine, after having offered battle to the enemy, and made ſeveral motions for that purpoſe. Finding them averſe to an engagement, he made his diſpoſitions for forcing the ſtrong paſs of Wachtendonck, an iſland ſurrounded by the Niers, of very difficult approach, and ſituated exactly in his route to the Rhine. This ſervice was performed by the Hereditary Prince of Brunſwick, who, perceiving the enemy had drawn up the bridge, ruſhed into the river at the head of his grenadiers, who drove them away with their bayonets, and cleared the bridges for the paſſage of the army towards Rhinebergen.

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Rhinebergen. At this place Prince Ferdinand received intelligence, that M. de Chevert, reputed one of the beſt officers in the French ſervice, had paſſed the Lippe with fourteen battalions and ſeveral ſquadrons, to join the garriſon of Weſel, and fall upon Lieutenant-General Imhoff, who commanded a detached corps of the combined army at Meer, that he might be at hand to guard the bridge which the Prince had thrown over the Rhine at Rees. His Serene Highneſs was extremely deſirous of ſending ſuccours to General Imhoff; but the troops were too much fatigued to begin another march before morning; and the Rhine had overflowed its banks in ſuch a manner as to render the bridge at Rees impaſſable, ſo that M. Imhoff was left to the reſources of his own conduct and the bravery of his troops, conſiſting of ſix battalions and four ſquadrons, already weakened by the abſence of different detachments. This General having received advice, on the fourth of Auguſt, that the enemy intended to paſs the Lippe the ſame evening with a conſiderable train of artillery, in order to burn the bridge at Rees, decamped with a view to cover this place, and join two battalions which had paſſed the Rhine in boats, under the command of General Zaſtrow, who reinforced him accordingly; but the enemy not appearing, he concluded the information was falſe, and reſolved to reſume his advantageous poſt at Meer. Of this he had no ſooner repoſſeſſed himſelf, than his advanced guards were engaged with the enemy, who marched to the attack from Weſel, under the command of Lieutenant-General de Chevert, conſiſting of the whole corps intended for the ſiege of Duſſeldorp. Imhoff's front was covered by coppices and ditches, there being a riſing ground on his right, from whence he could plainly diſcern the whole force that advanced againſt him, together with the manner of their approach. Perceiving them engaged in that difficult ground, he poſted one regiment in a coppice,

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pice, with orders to fall upon the left flank of the enemy, which appeared quite uncovered; and as ſoon as their fire began, advanced with the reſt of his forces to attack them in front. The bayonet was uſed on this occaſion, and the charge given with ſuch impetuoſity and reſolution, that, after a ſhort reſiſtance, the enemy fell into confuſion, and fled towards Weſel, leaving on the ſpot eleven pieces of cannon, with a great number of waggons and other carriages: beſides the killed and wounded, who amounted to a pretty conſiderable number, the victor took three hundred and fifty-four priſoners, including eleven officers; whereas, on his part, the victory was purchaſed at a very ſmall expence.

§ XXIX. Immediately after this action, General Wangenheim paſſed the Rhine with ſeveral ſquadrons and battalions, to reinforce General Imhoff, and enable him to proſecute the advantage he had gained, while Prince Ferdinand marched with the reſt of the army to Santen: from whence he proceeded to Rhineberg, where he intended to paſs; but the river had overflowed to ſuch a degree, that here, as well as at Rees, the ſhore was inacceſſible; ſo that he found it neceſſary to march farther down the river, and lay a bridge at Gtiethuyzen. The enemy had contrived four veſſels for the deſtruction of this bridge; but they were all taken before they could put the deſign in execution, and the whole army paſſed on the tenth day of Auguſt, without any loſs or further interruption. At the ſame time the Prince withdrew his garriſon from Duſſeldorp, of which the French immediately took poſſeſſion. Immediately after his paſſage he received a letter from the Duke of Marlborough, acquainting him that the Britiſh troops had arrived at Lingen, in their route to Coesfeldt: to which place General Imhoff was ſent to receive them, with a ſtrong detachment. Notwithſtanding this junction, the two armies on the Rhine were ſo equally matched, that

no

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four in the afternoon the enemy began the battle with a ſevere cannonading, and at the ſame time the firſt line of their infantry attacked Major-General Zaſtrow, who was poſted on the left wing of the Allies. This body of the French was repulſed; but in the ſame moment, a conſiderable line of cavalry advancing, charged the Allies in front and flank. Theſe were ſupported by a freſh body of infantry with cannon, which, after a warm diſpute, obliged the Confederates to give way; and General Oberg, in order to prevent a total defeat, made a diſpoſition for a retreat, which was performed in tolerable order; not but that he ſuffered greatly, in paſſing through a defile, from the fire of the enemy's cannon, which was brought up, and managed under the direction of the Duke de Broglio. Having marched through Munden, by midnight, the retiring army lay till morning under arms in the little plain near Grupen, on the other ſide of the Weſer; but at day-break proſecuted their march, after having withdrawn the garriſon from Munden, until they arrived in the neighbourhood of Gunterſheim, where they encamped. In this engagement General Oberg loſt about fifteen hundred men, his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. He was obliged to abandon a magazine of hay and ſtraw at Munden, and leave part of his wounded men in that place to the humanity of the victor. But, after all, the French General reaped very little advantage from his victory.

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§ XXX. By this time Prince Ferdinand had retired into Weſtphalia, and fixed his head-quarters at Munſter, while M. de Contades encamped near Ham upon the Lippe: ſo that, although he had obliged the French army to evacuate Hanover and Heſſe in the beginning of the year, when they were weakened by death and diſtemper, and even driven them beyond the Rhine, where they ſuſtained a defeat; yet they were ſoon put in a condition to baffle all his future

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§ XXXI. Having thus particulariſed the operations of the allied army ſince the commencement of the campaign, we ſhall now endeavour to trace the ſteps of the King of Pruſſia, from the period to which his army was aſſembled for action. Having collected his force as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, he undertook the ſiege of Schweidnitz in form on the twenty-firſt day of March; and carried on his operations with ſuch vigour, that in thirteen days the garriſon ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, after having loſt one half of their number in the defence of the place. While one part of his troops were engaged in this ſervice, he himſelf, at the head of another, advanced to the eaſtern frontier of Bohemia, and ſent a detachment as far as Trautenaw, garriſoned by a body of Auſtrians, who, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, abandoned the place, and retreated towards their grand army. By this ſucceſs he opened to himſelf a way into Bohemia, by which he poured in detachments of light troops, to raiſe contributions, and haraſs the out-poſts of the enemy. At the ſame time the Baron de la Mothe Fouquet marched with another body againſt the Auſtrian General Jahnus, poſted in the county of Glatz, whom he obliged to abandon all the poſts he occupied in that country, and purſued as far as Nachod,

Nachod, within twenty miles of Koninſgratz, where the grand Auſtrian army was encamped, under the command of Mareſchal Daun, who had lately arrived from Vienna *. Over and above theſe excurſions, the King ordered a body of thirty thouſand men to be aſſembled, to act under the command of his brother Prince Henry, an accompliſhed warrior, againſt the army of the Empire, which the Prince de Deuxponts, with great difficulty, made a ſhift to form again near Bamberg, in Franconia. CHAP. IX. 1758.

§ XXXII. The King of Pruſſia, whoſe deſigns were perhaps even greater than he cared to own, reſolved to ſhift the theatre of the war, and penetrate into Moravia, a fertile country, which had hitherto been kept ſacred from ravage and contribution. Having formed an army of fifty thouſand choice troops, near Nieſs, in Sileſia, he divided them into three columns; the firſt commanded by Mareſchal Keith, the ſecond by himſelf in perſon, and the third conducted by Prince Maurice of Anhault-Deſſau. In the latter end of April they began their march towards Moravia; and General De la Ville, who commanded a body of troops in that country, retired as they advanced, after having thrown a ſtrong reinforcement into Olmutz, which the King was determined to beſiege. Had he paſſed by this fortreſs, which was ſtrongly fortified and well provided for a vigorous defence, he might have advanced to the gates of Vienna, and reduced the Emperor to the neceſſity of ſuing for peace on his own terms; but it ſeems he was unwilling to deviate ſo far from the common maxims of war as to leave a fortified place in the rear; and, there-

* At this juncture the Pruſſian Commandant of Dreſden being admitted into the Japan palace, to ſee the curious porcelaine with which it is adorned, perceived a door built up; and ordering the paſſage to be opened, entered a large apartment, where he found three thouſand tents, and other field utenſils. Theſe had been concealed here when the Pruſſians firſt took poſſeſſion of the city; they were immediately ſeized by the commandant, and diſtributed among the troops of Prince Henry's army.

fore,

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fore, he determined to make himſelf maſter of it before he ſhould proceed. For this purpoſe it was immediately inveſted: orders were iſſued to haſten up the heavy artillery, and Mareſchal Keith was appointed to ſuperintend and direct the operations of the ſiege. Meanwhile, the Auſtrian Commander, Count Daun, being informed of his Pruſſian Majeſty's motions and deſigns, quitted his camp at Leutomyſſel in Bohemia, and entered Moravia by the way of Billa. Being ſtill too weak to encounter the Pruſſians in the field, he extended his troops in the neighbourhood of the King's army, between Gewitz and Littau, in a mountainous ſituation, where he ran little or no riſque of being attacked. Here he remained for ſome time in quiet, with the fertile country of Bohemia in his rear, from whence he drew plentiful ſupplies, and received daily reinforcements. His ſcheme was to relieve the beſieged occaſionally; to haraſs the beſiegers, and to intercept their convoys from Sileſia; and this ſcheme ſucceeded to his wiſh. Olmutz is ſo extenſive in its works, and ſo peculiarly ſituated on the river Morava, that it could not be completely inveſted without weakening the poſts of the beſieging army, by extending them to a prodigious circuit; ſo that, in ſome parts they were eaſily forced by detachments in the night, who fell upon them ſuddenly, and ſeldom failed to introduce into the place ſupplies of men, proviſions, and ammunition. The forage in the neighbourhood of the city having been previouſly deſtroyed, the Pruſſian horſe were obliged to make excurſions at a great diſtance, conſequently expoſed to fatigue, and liable to ſurpriſe; and, in a word, the Pruſſians were not very expert in the art of town taking.

§ XXXIII. Count Daun knew how to take advantage of theſe circumſtances, without hazarding a battle, to which the King provoked him in vain. While the garriſon made repeated ſallies to retard the

the operations of the beſiegers, the Auſtrian General haraſſed their foraging parties, fell upon different quarters of their army in the night, and kept them in continual alarm. Nevertheleſs, the King finiſhed his firſt parallel; and proceeded with ſuch vigour as ſeemed to promiſe a ſpeedy reduction of the place, when his deſign was entirely fruſtrated by an untoward incident. Mareſchal Daun, having received intelligence that a large convoy had ſet out from Sileſia for the Pruſſian camp, reſolved to ſeize this opportunity of compelling the King to deſiſt from his enterprize. He ſent General Jahnus, with a ſtrong body of troops, towards Bahrn, and another detachment to Stadtoliebe, with inſtructions to attack the convoy on different ſides; while he himſelf advanced towards the beſiegers, as if he intended to give them battle. The King of Pruſſia, far from being deceived by this feint, began, from the motions of the Auſtrian General, to ſuſpect his real ſcheme, and immediately deſpatched General Ziethen, with a ſtrong reinforcement, to protect the convoy, which was eſcorted by eight battalions, and about four thouſand men, who had been ſick, and were juſt recovered. Before this officer joined them, the convoy had been attacked on the twenty-eighth day of June; but the aſſailants were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Mareſchal Daun, however, took care that they ſhould be immediately reinforced; and next day the attack was renewed with much greater effect. Four hundred waggons, guarded by four battalions, and about one thouſand troopers, had juſt paſſed the defiles of Domſtadt, when the Auſtrians charged them furiouſly on every ſide: the communication between the head and the reſt of the convoy was cut off; and General Ziethen, after having exerted all his efforts for its preſervation, being obliged to abandon the waggons, retired to Troppau. Thus the whole convoy fell into the hands of the

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enemy, who took above six hundred prisoners, together with General Putkammer; and the King of Prussia was obliged to relinquish his enterprize. This was a mortifying necessity to a Prince of his high spirit, at a time when he saw himself on the eve of reducing the place, notwithstanding the gallant defence which had been made by General Marshal, the Governor. Nothing now remained but to raise the siege, and retire without loss in the face of a vigilant enemy, prepared to seize every opportunity of advantage: a task which, how hard soever it may appear, he performed with equal dexterity and success. Instead of retiring into Silesia, he resolved to avert the war from his own dominions, and take the route of Bohemia, the frontiers of which were left uncovered by Mareschal Daun's last motion, when he advanced his quarters to Posnitz, in order to succour Olmutz the more effectually. After the King had taken his measures, he carefully concealed his design from the enemy, and, notwithstanding the loss of his convoy, prosecuted the operations of the siege with redoubled vigour, till the first day of July, when he decamped in the night, and began his march to Bohemia. He himself, with one division, took the road to Konitz: and Mareschal Keith having brought away all the artillery, except four mortars, and one disabled cannon, pursued his march by the way of Littau to Muglitz and Tribau. Although his Prussian Majesty had gained an entire march upon the Austrians, their light troops, commanded by the Generals Buccow and Laudohn, did not fail to attend and harass his army in their retreat; but their endeavours were in a great measure frustrated by the conduct and circumspection of the Prussian Commanders. After the rear of the army had passed the defiles of Krenau, General Lasci, who was posted at Gibau with a large body of Austrian troops, occupied the village of Krenau with a detachment of grenadiers, who were soon dislodged;

and the Pruſſians purſued their march by Zwittau to Leutomyſſel, where they ſeized a magazine of meal and forage. In the mean time, General de Ratzow, who conducted the proviſions and artillery, found the hills of Hollitz poſſeſſed by the enemy, who cannonaded him as he advanced; but Mareſchal Keith coming up, ordered him to be attacked in the rear, and they fled into a wood with precipitation, with the loſs of ſix officers and three hundred men, who were taken priſoners. While the Mareſchal was thus employed, the King proceeded from Leutomyſſel to Koningſgratz, where General Buccow, who had got the ſtart of him, was poſted with ſeven thouſand men behind the Elbe, and in the entrenchments which they had thrown up all around the city. The Pruſſian troops as they arrived paſſed over the little river Adler, and as the enemy had broken down the bridges over the Elbe, the King ordered them to be repaired with all expedition, being determined to attack the Auſtrian entrenchments: but General Buccow did not wait for his approach. He abandoned his entrenchments, and retired with his troops to Clumetz; ſo that the King took poſſeſſion of the moſt important poſt of Koningſgratz without further oppoſition. An Auſtrian corps having taken poſt between him and Hollitz, in order to obſtruct the march of the artillery, he advanced againſt them in perſon, and having driven them from the place, all his cannon, military ſtores, proviſion, with fifteen hundred ſick and wounded men, arrived in ſafety at Koningſgratz, where the whole army encamped. His intention was to transfer the ſeat of war from Moravia to Bohemia, where he ſhould be able to maintain a more eaſy communication with his own dominions: but a more powerful motive ſoon obliged him to change his reſolution.

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§ XXXIV. After the Ruſſian troops under Apraxin had retreated from Pomerania in the courſe of the

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preceding year, and the Czarina ſeemed ready to change her ſyſtem, the Courts of Vienna and Verſailles had, by dint of ſubſidies, promiſes, preſents, and intrigues, attached her, in all appearance, more firmly than ever to the Confederacy, and even induced her to augment the number of troops deſtined to act againſt the Pruſſian Monarch. She not only ſigned her acceſſion in form to the quadruple alliance with the Empreſs-Queen and the Kings of France and Sweden; but, in order to manifeſt her zeal to the common cauſe, ſhe diſgraced her chancellor, Count Beſtuchef, who was ſuppoſed averſe to the war: ſhe divided her forces into ſeparate bodies, under the command of the Generals Fermer and Browne, and ordered them to put their troops in motion in the middle of winter. Fermer accordingly began his march in the beginning of January, and on the twenty-ſecond his light troops took poſſeſſion of Koningſberg, the capital of Pruſſia, without oppoſition: for the King's forces had quitted that country, in order to proſecute the war in the weſtern parts of Pomerania. They did not, however, maintain themſelves in this part of the country; but, after having ravaged ſome diſtricts, returned to the main body, which halted on the Viſtula, to the no ſmall diſturbance of the city of Dantzick. The Reſident of the Czarina actually demanded that the magiſtrates ſhould receive a Ruſſian garriſon: a demand which they not only peremptorily refuſed, but ordered all the citizens to arms, and took every other method to provide for their defence. At length, after ſome negociation with General Fermer, the affair was compromiſed: he deſiſted from the demand, and part of his troops paſſed the Viſtula, ſeemingly to invade Pomerania, in the eaſtern part of which Count Dohna had aſſembled an army of Pruſſians to oppoſe their progreſs. But after they had pillaged the open country, they rejoined

joined their main body; and General Fermer, turning to the left, advanced to Sileſia, in order to cooperate with the other Ruſſian army commanded by Browne, who had taken his route through Poland, and already paſſed the Poſna. By the firſt of July, both bodies had reached the frontiers of Sileſia, and ſome of their Coſſacks, penetrating into that province, had committed dreadful ravages, and overwhelmed the inhabitants with conſternation. Count Dohna, with the Pruſſian army under his command, had attended their motions, and even paſſed the Oder at Frankfort, as if he had intended to give them battle: but he was too much inferior in number to hazard ſuch a ſtep, which became an object of his Sovereign's own perſonal attention. Mareſchal Daun had followed the King into Bohemia, and, on the twenty-ſecond day of July, encamped on the hills of Libiſchau, a ſituation almoſt inacceſſible, where he reſolved to remain, and watch the motions of the Pruſſian Monarch, until ſome opportunity ſhould offer of acting to advantage. Nature ſeems to have expreſsly formed this Commander with talents to penetrate the deſigns, embarraſs the genius, and check the impetuoſity of the Pruſſian Monarch. He was juſtly compared to Fabius Maximus, diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of Cunctator. He poſſeſſed all the vigilance, caution, and ſagacity of that celebrated Roman. Like him, he hovered on the ſkirts of the enemy, haraſſing their parties, accuſtoming the ſoldiers to ſtrict diſcipline, hard ſervice, and the face of a formidable foe, and watching for opportunities, which he knew how to ſeize with equal courage and celerity. CHAP. IX. 1758.

§ XXXV. The King of Pruſſia, being induced by a concurrence of motives to ſtop the progreſs of the Ruſſians in Sileſia, made his diſpoſitions for retreating from Bohemia, and on the twenty-fifth day of July quitted the camp at Koningſgratz. He was

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routed the Ruſſian cavalry, fell upon the flank of the infantry with great fury, which being alſo dreadfully annoyed by the Pruſſian artillery, they abandoned the village, together with their military cheſt, and great part of their baggage. Notwithſtanding this loſs, which had greatly diſordered their right wing, they continued to ſtand their ground, and terrible havock was made among them, not only with the ſword and bayonet, but alſo by the cannon, which were loaded with grape ſhot, and being excellently ſerved, did great execution. Towards evening the confuſion among them increaſed to ſuch a degree, that in all probability they would have been entirely routed, had they not been favoured by the approaching darkneſs, as well as by a particular operation which was very gallantly performed. One of the Ruſſian Generals perceiving the fortune of the day turned againſt them, rallied a ſelect body of troops, and made a vigorous impreſſion on the right wing of the Pruſſians. This effort diverted their attention ſo ſtrongly to that quarter, that the right of the Ruſſians enjoyed a reſpite, during which they retired in tolerable order, and occupied a new poſt on the right, where the reſt of their forces were the more eaſily aſſembled. In this battle they are ſaid to have loſt above fifteen thouſand men, thirty-ſeven colours, five ſtandards, twelve mortars, the greater part of their baggage, and above one hundred pieces of cannon. Among the priſoners that fell into the hands of the victor, were ſeveral General officers, and a good number loſt their lives on the field of battle. The victory coſt the King above two thouſand men, including ſome officers of diſtinction, particularly two aides-du-camp, who attended his own perſon, which he expoſed without ſcruple to all the perils of the day. It would have redounded ſtill more to his glory, had he put a ſtop to the carnage; for, after all reſiſtance was at an end, the wretched Ruſſians were hewn down without mercy. It muſt

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be owned, indeed, that the Pruſſian ſoldiers were, in a peculiar manner, exaſperated againſt this enemy, becauſe they had laid waſte the country, burned the villages, ruined the peaſants, and committed many horrid acts of barbarity, which the practice of war could not authoriſe *. The Pruſſian army paſſed the night under arms, and next morning the cannonade

* A detail of the cruelties committed by thoſe barbarians cannot be read without horror. They not only burned a great number of villages, but they raviſhed, rifled, murdered, and mutilated the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age or ſex, without any other provocation or incitement than brutal luſt and wantonneſs of barbarity. They even violated the ſepulchres of the dead, which have been held ſacred among the moſt ſavage nations. At Camin and Breckholtz they forced open the graves and ſepulchral vaults, and ſtripped the bodies of the Generals Schlaberndorf and Ruitz, which had been depoſited there. But the collected force of their vengeance was diſcharged againſt Cuſtrin, the capital of the New Marche of Brandenburgh, ſituated at the conflux of the Warta and the Oder, about fifteen Engliſh miles from Frankfort. The particulars of the diſaſter that befel this city, are pathetically related in the following extracts from a letter written by an inhabitant and eye-witneſs.

"On the thirteenth of Auguſt, about three o'clock in the afternoon, a ſudden report was ſpread that a body of Ruſſian huſſars and coſſacks appeared in ſight of the little ſuburb. All the people were immediately in motion, and the whole city was filled with terror, eſpecially as we were certainly informed that the whole Ruſſian army was advancing from Meſerick and Konigſwalda, by the way of Landſberg. A reinforcement was immediately ſent to our piquet-guard in the ſuburb, amounting, by this junction, to three hundred men, who were ſoon attacked by the enemy, and the ſkirmiſh laſted from four till ſeven o'clock in the evening. During this diſpute, we could plainly perceive from our ramparts and church-ſteeple, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction mounted on Engliſh horſes, reconnoitring our fortification through perſpective glaſſes. They retired, however, when our cannon began to fire: then our piquet took poſſeſſion of their former poſt in the ſuburb; and the reinforcement we had ſent from the city returned, after having broken down the bridge over the Oder. Next day Count Dohna, who commanded the army near Frankfort, ſent in a reinforcement of four battalions, ten ſquadrons, and a ſmall body of huſſars, under the command of Lieutenant General Scherlemmer. The huſſars and a body of dragoons were added to the piquet of the little ſuburb; the four battalions pitched their tents on the Anger, between the ſuburb and the fortification; and the reſt of the dragoons remained in the field to cover the long ſuburb. General Scherlemmer, attended by our Governor, Colonel Schuck, went with a ſmall party to obſerve the enemy; but were obliged to retire, and were purſued by the coſſacks to the walls of the city. Between four and five o'clock next morning the poor inhabitants were rouſed from their ſleep by the noiſe of the cannon, intermingled with the diſmal ſhrieks and hideous yellings of the coſſacks belonging to the Ruſſian army. Alarmed at this horrid noiſe, I aſcended the church-ſteeple, from whence

nonade was renewed againſt the enemy, who, nevertheleſs, maintained that poſition, without flinching. On the twenty-ſeventh, they ſeemed determined to hazard

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whence I beheld the whole plain, extending from the little ſuburb to the foreſt, covered with the enemy's troops, and our light horſe, ſupported by the infantry, engaged in different places with their irregulars. At eight I deſcried a body of the enemy's infantry, whoſe van conſiſted of four or five thouſand men, advancing towards the vineyard, in the neighbourhood of which they had raiſed occaſional batteries in the preceding evening; from theſe they now played on our piquet-guard and huſſars, who were obliged to retire. They then fired, *en ricochet*, on the tents and baggage of the four battalions encamped on the Anger, who were alſo compelled to retreat. Having thus cleared the environs, they threw into the city ſuch a number of bombs and red hot bullets, that by nine in the morning it was ſet on fire in three different places; and the ſtreets being narrow, burned with ſuch fury, that all our endeavours to extinguiſh it proved ineffectual. At this time the whole atmoſphere appeared like a ſhower of fiery rain and hail; and the miſerable inhabitants thought of nothing but ſaving their lives by running into the open fields. The whole place was filled with terror and conſternation, and reſounded with the ſhrieks of women and children, who ran about in the utmoſt diſtraction, expoſed to the ſhot and bomb ſhells, which, burſting, tore in pieces every thing that ſtood in their way. As I led my wife, with a young child in her arms, and drove the reſt of my children and ſervants half naked before me, thoſe inſtruments of death and devaſtation fell about us like hail; but, by the mercy of God, we all eſcaped unhurt. Nothing could be more melancholy and affecting than a ſight of the wretched people, flying in crowds, and leaving their all behind, while they rent the ſky with their lamentations. Many women of diſtinction I ſaw without ſhoes and ſtockings, and almoſt without clothes, who had been rouſed from their beds, and ran out naked into the ſtreets. When my family had reached the open plain I endeavoured to return, and ſave ſome of my effects; but I could not force my way through a multitude of people, thronging out at the gate, ſome ſick and bed-ridden perſons being carried on horſeback and in carriages, and others conveyed on the backs of their friends, through a moſt dreadful ſcene of horror and deſolation. A great number of families from the open country, and the defenceleſs towns in Pruſſia and Pomerania, had come hither for ſhelter with their moſt valuable effects, when the Ruſſians firſt entered the King's territories. Theſe, as well as the inhabitants, are all ruined; and many, who a few days ago poſſeſſed conſiderable wealth, are now reduced to the utmoſt indigence. The neighbouring towns and villages were ſoon crowded with the people of Cuſtrin; the roads were filled with objects of miſery; and nothing was ſeen but nakedneſs and deſpair; nothing heard but the cries of hunger, fear, and diſtraction. For my own part, I ſtayed all night at Goltz, and then proceeded for Berlin. Cuſtrin is now a heap of ruins. The great magazine, the Governor's houſe, the church, the palace, the ſtore and artillery houſes, in a word, the old and new towns, the ſuburbs, and all the bridges, were reduced to aſhes; nay, after the aſhes were deſtroyed, the piles and ſterlings were burned to the water's edge. The writings of all the colleges, together with the archives of the country, were totally conſumed, together with a prodigious maga-

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hazard another action, and even attack the conquerors: instead of advancing, however, they took the route of Landsberg; but afterwards, turned off towards Vietzel, and posted themselves between the rivers Warta and that village. Immediately after the battle, General Fermer*, who had received a slight wound in the action, sent a trumpet with a letter to Lieutenant-General Dohna, desiring a suspension of arms for two or three days to bury the dead, and take care of the wounded; and presenting to his Prussian Majesty the humble request of General Browne, who was much weakened with the loss of blood, that he might have a passport, by virtue of which he could be removed to a place where he should find such accommodation as his situation required. In answer to this message, Count Dohna gave the Russian General to understand, that as his Prussian Majesty remained master of the field, he would give the necessary orders for interring the dead, and taking care of the wounded on both sides, he refused a suspension of arms, but granted the request of General Browne; and concluded his letter by complaining of the outrages which the Russian troops still continued to commit, in pillaging and burning the King's villages.

zine of corn and flour, valued at four millions of crowns. The cannon in the arsenal were all melted; and the loaded bombs and cartridges, with a large quantity of gunpowder, went off at once with a most horrible explosion. A great number of the inhabitants are missing, supposed to have perished in the flames, or under the ruins of the houses, or to have been suffocated in subterraneous vaults and caverns, to which they had fled for safety."

Nothing could be more inhuman or contrary to the practice of a generous enemy, than such vengeance wreaked upon the innocent inhabitants: for the Russians did not begin to batter the fortifications until all the rest of the place was destroyed. In the course of this campaign, the Russian cassocks are said to have plundered and burned fourteen large towns and two hundred villages, and wantonly butchered above two thousand defenceless women and children. Such monsters of barbarity ought to be excluded from all the privileges of human nature, and hunted down as wild beasts without pity or cessation. What infamy ought those powers to incur, who employ and encourage such ruthless barbarians?

*General Fermer was of Scottish extract, and General Browne actually a native of North-Britain.

§ XXXVI.

§ XXXVI. The King of Prussia had no sooner repulsed the enemy in one quarter, than his presence was required in another. When he quitted Bohemia, Mareschal Daun, at the head of the Austrian army, and the Prince de Deuxponts, who commanded the forces of the Empire, advanced to the Elbe, in order to surround the King's brother Prince Henry, who, without immediate succour, would not have been able to preserve his footing in Saxony. The Prussian Monarch, therefore, determined to support him with all possible expedition. In a few days after the battle, he began his march from Custrin with a reinforcement of twenty-four battalions and great part of his cavalry, and pursued his route with such unwearied diligence, that by the fifth day of September he reached Torgau, and on the eleventh joined his brother. Mareschal Daun had posted himself at Stolpen, to the eastward of the Elbe, in order to preserve an easy communication with the army of the Empire encamped in the neighbourhood of Koningstein, to favour the operations of General Laudohn, who had advanced through the Lower Lusatia to the frontiers of Brandenburgh: to make a diversion from the southern parts of Silesia, where a body of Austrian troops acted under the command of the Generals Haarache and De Ville; and to interrupt the communication between Prince Henry and the capital of Saxony. On the fifth day of September, the garrison in the strong fortress of Koningstein surrendered themselves prisoners of war, after a very feeble resistance, to the Prince de Deuxponts, who forthwith took possession of the strong camp at Pirna. When the King of Prussia therefore arrived at Dresden, he found the army of the Empire in this position, and Mareschal Daun in a still stronger situation at Stolpen, with bridges of communication thrown over the Elbe, so that he could not attack them with any prospect of advantage. He had no other resolution to

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to take but that of endeavouring to cut them off from ſupplies of proviſion, and with this view he marched to Bautzen, which he occupied. This motion obliged the Auſtrian General to quit his camp at Stolpen, but he choſe another of equal ſtrength at Libau; yet he afterwards advanced to Rittlitz, that he might be at hand to ſeize the firſt favourable occaſion of executing the reſolution he had formed to attack the Pruſſians. The King having detached General Ratzow on his left, to take poſſeſſion of Weiſſenberg, marched forwards with the body of his army, and poſted himſelf in the neighbourhood of Hochkirchen, after having diſlodged the Auſtrians from that village. Matters were now brought to ſuch a delicate criſis, that a battle ſeemed inevitable, and equally deſired by both parties, as an event that would determine whether the Auſtrians ſhould be obliged to retreat for winter-quarters into Bohemia, or be enabled to maintain their ground in Saxony. In this ſituation Mareſchal Daun reſolved to act offenſively; and formed a ſcheme for attacking the right flank of the Pruſſians by ſurpriſe. This meaſure was ſuggeſted to him by an overſight of the Pruſſians, who had neglected to occupy the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen, which was only guarded by a few free companies. He determined to take the advantage of a very dark night, and to employ the flower of his whole army on this important ſervice, well knowing, that ſhould they penetrate through the flank of the enemy, the whole Pruſſian army would be diſconcerted, and in all probability entirely ruined. Having taken his meaſures with wonderful ſecrecy and circumſpection, the troops began to move in the night between the thirteenth and fourteenth of October, favoured by a thick fog, which greatly increaſed the darkneſs of the night. Their firſt care was to take poſſeſſion of the hill that commanded Hochkirchen, from whence they poured down upon

the village, of which they took poſſeſſion, after having cut in pieces the free companies poſted there. The action began in this quarter about four in the morning, and continued ſeveral hours with great fury, for, notwithſtanding the impetuous efforts of the Auſtrian troops, and the confuſion occaſioned among the Pruſſians by the ſurpriſe, a vigorous ſtand was made by ſome general officers, who, with admirable expedition and preſence of mind, aſſembled and arranged the troops as they could take to their arms, and led them up to the attack without diſtinction of regiment, place, or precedence. While the action was obſtinately and deſperately maintained in this place, amidſt all the horrors of darkneſs, carnage, and confuſion, the King being alarmed, exerted all his perſonal activity, addreſs, and recollection, in drawing regularity from diſorder, arranging the different corps, altering poſitions, reinforcing weak poſts, encouraging the ſoldiery, and oppoſing the efforts of the enemy; for although they made their chief impreſſion upon the right, by the village of Hochkirchen, Mareſchal Daun, in order to divide the attention of the King, made another attack upon the left, which was with difficulty ſuſtained, and effectually prevented him from ſending reinforcements to the right, where Mareſchal Keith, under the greateſt diſadvantages, bore the brunt of the enemy's chief endeavours. Thus the battle raged till nine in the morning, when this gallant officer was ſhot through the heart. Prince Francis of Brunſwick had met with the ſame fate; Prince Maurice of Anhalt was wounded and taken priſoner, and many others were either ſlain or diſabled. As the right wing had been ſurpriſed, the tents continued ſtanding, and greatly embarraſſed them in their defence. The ſoldiers had never been properly drawn up in order; the enemy ſtill perſevered in their attack with ſucceſſive reinforcements and redoubled reſolution;

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resolution; and a considerable slaughter was made by their artillery, which they had brought up to the heights of Hochkirchen. All these circumstances concurring, could not fail to increase the confusion and disaster of the Prussians; so that about ten the King was obliged to retire to Dobreschutz, with the loss of seven thousand men, of all his tents, and part of his baggage. Nor had the Austrian General much cause to boast of his victory. His loss of men was pretty near equal to that of the Prussian Monarch: and, whatever reputation he might have acquired in foiling that enterprising Prince; certainly his design did not take effect in its full extent, for the Prussians were next day in a condition to hazard another engagement. The King of Prussia had sustained no damage which he could not easily repair, except the death of Mareschal Keith, which was doubtless an irreparable misfortune*.

§ XXXVII.

* As very little notice was taken, in the detail published by authority, of any part which this great man acted in the battle of Hochkirchen, and a report was industriously circulated in this kingdom, that he was surprised in his tent, naked, and half asleep, we think it the duty of a candid historian to vindicate his memory and reputation from the foul aspersion thrown by the perfidious and illiberal hand of envious malice, or else contrived to screen some other character from the imputation of misconduct. The task we are enabled to perform by a gentleman of candour and undoubted credit, who learned the following particulars at Berlin from a person that was eye-witness of the whole transaction. Field-Mareschal Keith, who arrived in the camp the very day that preceded the battle, disapproved of the situation of the Prussian army, and remonstrated to the King on that subject. In consequence of his advice, a certain General was sent with a detachment to take possession of the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen; but by some fatality he miscarried. Mareschal Keith was not in any tent but lodged with Prince Francis of Brunswick, in a house belonging to a Saxon Major. When the first alarm was given in the night, he instantly mounted his horse, assembled a body of the nearest troops, and marched directly to the place that was attacked. The Austrians had taken possession of the hill which the Prussian officer was sent to occupy, and this they fortified with cannon: then they made themselves masters of the village in which the free companies of Anginelli had been posted. Mareschal Keith immediately conceived the design of the Austrian General, and knowing the importance of this place, thither directed all his efforts. He in person led on the troops to the attack of the village, from whence he drove the enemy; but being overpowered by numbers continually

§ XXXVII. His Pruſſian Majeſty remained with his army ten days at Dobreſchutz, during which he endeavoured to bring the Auſtrians to a ſecond engagement; but Count Daun declined the invitation, and kept his forces advantageouſly poſted on eminences planted with artillery. His aim having been CHAP. IX. 1758.

continually pouring down from the hills, he was obliged to retire in his turn. He rallied his men, returned to the charge, and regained poſſeſſion of the place; being again repulſed by freſh reinforcements of the enemy, he made another effort, entered the village a third time, and finding it untenable, ordered it to be ſet on fire. Thus he kept the Auſtrians at bay, and maintained a deſperate conflict againſt the flower of the Auſtrian army, from four in the morning till nine, when the Pruſſians were formed, and began to file off in their retreat. During the whole diſpute he rallied the troops in perſon, charged at their head, and expoſed his life in the hotteſt of a dreadful fire, like a private Captain of grenadiers. He found it neceſſary to exert himſelf in this manner, the better to remove the bad effects of the confuſion that prevailed, and in order to inſpirit the troops to their utmoſt exertion by his voice, preſence, and example. Even when dangerouſly wounded, at eight in the morning, he refuſed to quit the field; but continued to ſignalize himſelf in the midſt of the carnage until nine, when he received a ſecond ſhot in his breaſt, and fell ſpeechleſs into the arms of Mr. Tibay, an Engliſh volunteer, who had attended him during the whole campaign. This gentleman, who was likewiſe wounded, applied to a Pruſſian officer for a file of men to remove the Mareſchal, being uncertain whether he was entirely deprived of life. His requeſt was granted; but the ſoldiers, in advancing to the ſpot, were countermanded by another officer. He afterwards ſpoke on the ſame ſubject to one of the Pruſſian Generals, a German Prince, as he chanced to paſs on horſeback; when Mr. Tibay told him the Field-Mareſchal was lying wounded on the field, he aſked if his wounds were mortal; and the other anſwering he was afraid they were, the Prince ſhrugged up his ſhoulders, and rode off without further queſtion. The body of this great officer, being thus ſhamefully abandoned, was ſoon ſtripped by the Auſtrian ſtragglers, and lay expoſed and undiſtinguiſhed on the field of battle. In this ſituation it was perceived by Count Laſci, ſon of the General of that name, with whom Mareſchal Keith had ſerved in Ruſſia. This young Count had been the Mareſchal's pupil, and revered him as his military father, though employed in the Auſtrian ſervice. He recognized the body by the large ſcar of a dangerous wound, which General Keith had received in his thigh at the ſiege of Ockzakow, and could not help burſting into tears to ſee his honoured maſter thus extended at his feet, a naked, lifeleſs, and deſerted corpſe. He forthwith cauſed the body to be covered and interred. It was afterwards taken up, and decently buried by the curate of Hochkirchen; and finally, removed to Berlin by order of the King of Pruſſia, who beſtowed upon it thoſe funeral honours that were due to the dignified rank and tranſcendent merit of the deceaſed; merit ſo univerſally acknowledged, that even the Saxons lamented him as their beſt friend and patron, who protected them from violence and outrage, even while he acted a principal part in ſubjecting them to the dominion of his ſovereign,

fruſtrated

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frustrated at Hochkirchen, where he fought with many advantages on his side, he would not hazard another battle upon equal terms, with such an enterprising enemy, rendered more vigilant by the check he had received, already reinforced from the army of Prince Henry, and eager for an opportunity to retrieve the laurel which had been snatched from him by the wiles of stratagem, rather than by the hand of valour. Count Daun, having nothing more to hope from the active operations of his own army, contented himself with amusing the Prussian Monarch in Lusatia, while the Austrian Generals, Harsche and De Ville, should prosecute the reduction of Neiss and Cosel, in Silesia, which they now actually invested. As the Prussian Monarch could not spare detachments to oppose every different corps of his enemies that acted against him in different parts of his dominions, he resolved to make up in activity what he wanted in number, and, if possible, to raise the siege of Neiss in person. With this view he decamped from Dobreschutz, and, in sight of the enemy, marched to Gorlitz without the least interruption. From thence he proceeded towards Silesia with his usual expedition, notwithstanding all the endeavours and activity of General Laudohn, who harassed the rear of the Prussians, and gained some petty advantages over them. Count Daun not only sent this detached corps to retard them in their march; but, at the same time, by another route, detached a strong reinforcement to the army of the besiegers. In the mean time, having received intelligence that the army of Prince Henry in Saxony was considerably weakened, he himself marched thither, in hopes of expelling the Prince from that country, and reducing the capital in the King's absence. Indeed, his designs were still more extensive, for he proposed to reduce Dresden, Leipsick, and Torgau at the same time; the first with the main body under

der his own direction, the second by the army of the Empire under the Prince de Deuxponts, and the third by a corps under General Haddick, while the forces directed by Laudohn should exclude the King from Lusatia. In execution of this plan he marched directly to the Elbe, which he passed at Pirna, and advanced to Dresden, which he hoped would surrender without putting him to the trouble of a formal siege. The army of Prince Henry had already retired to the westward of this capital before the Prince de Deuxponts, who had found means to cut off his communication with Leipsick, and even invested that city. During these transactions, General Haddick advanced against Torgau. CHAP. IX. 1758.

§ XXXVIII. The Field-Mareschal Count Daun appearing on the sixth day of November within sight of Dresden, at the head of sixty thousand men, encamped next day at Lockowitz, and on the eighth his advanced troops attacked the Prussian hussars and independent battalions, which were posted at Striessen and Gruenewitze. Count Schmettau, who commanded the garrison, amounting to ten thousand men, apprehensive that, in the course of skirmishing, the Austrian troops might enter the suburbs pellmell, posted Colonel Itzenplitz, with seven hundred men, in the redoubts that surrounded the suburbs, that in case of emergency they might support the irregulars: at the same time, as the houses that constituted the suburbs were generally so high as to overlook the ramparts, and command the city, he prepared combustibles, and gave notice to the magistrates that they would be set on fire as soon as an Austrian should appear within the place. This must have been a dreadful declaration to the inhabitants of these suburbs, which compose one of the most elegant towns in Europe. In these houses, which were generally lofty and magnificent, the fashionable and wealthy class of people resided, and here a number of artists carried on a variety of curi-

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ous manufactures. In vain the magiſtrates implored the mercy and forbearance of the Pruſſian Governor, and repreſented, in the moſt ſubmiſſive ſtrain, that as they were unconcerned in the war, they hoped they ſhould be exempted from the horrors of devaſtation. In vain the Royal family, who remained at Dreſden, conjured him to ſpare that laſt refuge of diſtreſſed royalty, and allow them at leaſt a ſecure reſidence, ſince they were deprived of every other comfort. He continued inflexible, or rather determined to execute the orders of his maſter, which indeed he could not diſobey with any regard to his own ſafety. On the ninth day of November, about noon, the Auſtrian vanguard attacked the advanced poſt of the garriſon, repelled the huſſars, drove the independent battalions into the ſuburbs, and forced three of the redoubts, while their cannon played upon the town. The Governor, expecting a vigorous attack next day, recalled his troops within the city, after they had ſet fire to the ſuburbs. At three in the morning the ſignal was made for this terrible conflagration, which in a little time reduced to aſhes the beautiful ſuburbs of Pirna, which had ſo lately flouriſhed as the ſeat of gaiety, pleaſure, and the ingenious arts. Every boſom warmed with benevolence muſt be affected at the recital of ſuch calamities. It excites not only our compaſſion for the unhappy ſufferers, but alſo our reſentment againſt the perpetrators of ſuch enormity. Next day Mareſchal Daun ſent an officer to Count Schmettau, with a meſſage, expreſſing his ſurpriſe at the deſtruction of the ſuburbs in a Royal reſidence, an act of inhumanity unheard of among Chriſtians. He deſired to know if it was by the Governor's order this meaſure was taken; and aſſured him, that he ſhould be reſponſible, in his perſon, for whatever outrages had been or might be committed againſt a place in which a Royal family reſided. Schmettau gave him to underſtand, that he had orders to defend the town to

the laſt extremity, and that the preſervation of what remained depended entirely on the conduct of his Excellency; for, ſhould he think proper to attack the place, he (the Governor) would defend himſelf from houſe to houſe, and from ſtreet to ſtreet, and even make his laſt effort in the Royal palace, rather than abandon the city. He excuſed the deſtruction of the ſuburbs as a neceſſary meaſure, authoriſed by the practice of war; but he would have found it a difficult taſk to reconcile this ſtep to the laws of eternal juſtice, and far leſs to the dictates of common humanity. Indeed, if the ſcene had happened in an enemy's country, or if no other ſtep could have ſaved the lives and liberties of himſelf and his garriſon, ſuch a deſperate remedy might have ſtood excuſed by the law of nature and of nations: but on this occaſion he occupied a neutral city, over which he could exerciſe no other power and authority but that which he derived from illegal force and violence; nor was he at all reduced to the neceſſity of ſacrificing the place to his own ſafety, inaſmuch as he might have retired unmoleſted, by virtue of an honourable capitulation, which however he did not demand. Whether the peremptory order of a ſuperior will, *in foro conſcientiæ*, juſtify an officer who hath committed an illegal or inhuman action, is a queſtion that an Engliſh reader will ſcarce leave to the determination of a German caſuiſt with one hundred and fifty thouſand armed men in his retinue. Be this as it will, Mr. Ponickau, the Saxon miniſter, immediately after this tragedy was acted, without waiting for his maſter's orders, preſented a memorial to the Diet of the Empire, complaining of it as an action reſerved for the hiſtory of the war which the King of Pruſſia had kindled in Germany, to be tranſmitted to future ages. He affirmed, that, in execution of Schmettau's orders, the ſoldiers had diſperſed themſelves in the ſtreets of the Pirna and Witchen ſuburbs, broke open the houſes and ſhops, ſet fire to the

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combuſtibles, added freſh fuel, and then ſhut the doors; that the violence of the flames was kept up by red-hot balls fired into the houſes, and along the ſtreets; that the wretched inhabitants, who forſook their burning houſes, were ſlain by the fire of the cannon and ſmall arms; that thoſe who endeavoured to ſave their perſons and effects were puſhed down and deſtroyed by the bayonets of the Pruſſian ſoldiers poſted in the ſtreets for that purpoſe: he enumerated particular inſtances of inhuman barbarity, and declared that a great number of people periſhed, either amidſt the flames, or under the ruins of the houſes. The deſtruction of two hundred and fifty elegant houſes, and the total ruin of the inhabitants, were circumſtances in themſelves ſo deplorable, as to need no aggravation: but the account of the Saxon miniſter was ſhamefully exaggerated, and all the particular inſtances of cruelty falſe in every circumſtance. Baron Plotho, the miniſter of Brandenburgh, did not fail to anſwer every article of the Saxon memorial, and refute the particulars therein alledged, in a fair detail, authenticated by certificates under the hands of the magiſtrates, judges, and principal inhabitants of Dreſden. The moſt extraordinary part of this defence or vindication was the concluſion, in which the Baron ſolemnly aſſured the Diet, that the King of Pruſſia, from his great love to mankind, always felt the greateſt emotion of ſoul, and the moſt exquiſite concern, at the effuſion of blood, the devaſtation of cities and countries, and the horrors of war, by which ſo many thouſand fellow-creatures were overwhelmed; and that if his ſincere and honeſt inclination to procure peace to Germany, his dear country, had met with the leaſt regard, the preſent war, attended with ſuch bloodſhed and deſolation, would have been prevented and avoided. He, therefore, declared that thoſe who excited the preſent troubles, who, inſtead of extinguiſhing, threw oil upon the flames, muſt anſwer

to

to God for the seas of blood that had been, and would be shed, for the devastation of so many countries, and the entire ruin of so many innocent individuals. Such declarations cost nothing to those hardened politicians, who, feeling no internal check, are determined to sacrifice every consideration to the motives of rapacity and ambition. It would be happy, however, for mankind, were Princes taught to believe, that there is really an omnipotent and all-judging power, that will exact a severe account of their conduct, and punish them for their guilt, without any respect to their persons; that pillaging a whole people is more cruel than robbing a single person; and that the massacre of thousands is, at least, as criminal as a private murder. CHAP. IX. 1758.

§ XXXIX. While Count Daun was employed in making a fruitless attempt upon the capital of Saxony, the King of Prussia proceeded in his march to Neiss, which was completely invested on the third day of October. The operations of the siege were carried on with great vigour by the Austrian General, De Harsche, and the place was as vigorously defended by the Prussian Governor, Theskau, till the first day of November, when the Prussian Monarch approached, and obliged the besiegers to abandon their enterprize. M. de Harsche having raised the siege, the King detached General Fouquet with a body of troops across the river Neiss, and immediately the blockade of Cosel was likewise abandoned. De Harsche retired to Bohemia, and De Ville hovered about Jagernsdorf. The fortress of Neiss was no sooner relieved, than the King of Prussia began his march on his return to Saxony, where his immediate presence was required. At the same time, the two bodies under the Generals Dohna and Wedel penetrated by different routes into that country. The former had been left at Custrin, to watch the motions of the Russians, who had by this time retreated to the Vistula, and even crossed that

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river at Thorn, and the other had, during the campaign, obſerved the Swedes, who had now entirely evacuated the Pruſſian territories, ſo that Wedel was at liberty to co-operate with the King in Saxony. He accordingly marched to Torgau, the ſiege of which had been undertaken by the Auſtrian General, Haddick, who was repulſed by Wedel, and even purſued to the neighbourhood of Eulenbourg. Wedel, being afterwards joined by Dohna, drove him from thence with conſiderable loſs, and then raiſed the ſiege of Leipſick. Mean while, the King proſecuted his march towards the capital of Saxony, driving before him the body of Auſtrian troops, under Laudohn, who retreated to Zittau. On the tenth day of November Count Daun retired from Dreſden, and with the army of the Empire fell back towards Bohemia; and on the twentieth the King arrived in that city, where he approved of the Governor's conduct. The Ruſſian General foreſeeing that he ſhould not be able to maintain his ground during the winter in Pomerania, unleſs he could ſecure ſome ſea-port on the Baltick, by which he might be ſupplied with proviſions, detached General Palmbach, with fifteen thouſand men, to beſiege the town of Colberg, an inconſiderable place, very meanly fortified. It was accordingly inveſted on the third day of October; but the beſiegers were either ſo ill provided with proper implements, or ſo little acquainted with operations of this nature, that the garriſon, though feeble, maintained the place againſt all their attacks for ſix-and-twenty days; at the expiration of which they abandoned their enterprize, and cruelly ravaged the open country in their retreat. Thus, by the activity and valour of the Pruſſian Monarch, his Generals and officers, ſix ſieges were raiſed almoſt at the ſame period, namely, thoſe of Colberg, Neiſs, Coſel, Torgau, Leipſick, and Dreſden.

§ XL.

§ XL. The variety of fortune which the King of Pruſſia experienced in the courſe of this campaign was very remarkable; but the ſpirit of his conduct, and the rapidity of his motions, were altogether without example. In the former campaign we were dazzled with the luſtre of his victories; in this we admire his fortitude and ſkill in ſtemming the different torrents of adverſity, and riſing ſuperior to his evil fortune. One can hardly without aſtoniſhment recollect, that in the courſe of a few months he invaded Moravia, inveſted Olmutz, and was obliged to relinquiſh that deſign; that he marched through an enemy's country, in the face of a great army, which, though it haraſſed him in his retreat, could not, in a route of an hundred miles, obtain any advantage over him; that in ſpite of his diſaſter at Olmutz, and the difficulties of ſuch a march, he penetrated into Bohemia, drove the enemy from Koningſgratz, executed another dangerous and fatiguing march to the Oder, defeated a great army of Ruſſians, and returned by the way of Saxony, from whence he drove the Auſtrian and Imperial armies; that after his defeat at Hochkirchen, where he loſt two of his beſt Generals, and was obliged to leave his tents ſtanding, he baffled the vigilance and ſuperior number of the victorious army, ruſhed like a whirlwind to the relief of Sileſia, invaded by an Auſtrian army, which he compelled to retire with precipitation from that province; that, with the ſame rapidity of motion, he wheeled about to Saxony, and once more reſcued it from the hands of his adverſaries; that in one campaign he made twice the circuit of his dominions, relieved them all in their turns, and kept all his poſſeſſions entire againſt the united efforts of numerous armies, conducted by Generals of conſummate ſkill and undaunted reſolution. His character would have been ſtill more complete, if his moderation had been equal to his courage; but in this particular we can-

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not applaud his conduct. Incenſed by the perſecuting ſpirit of his enemies, he wreaked his vengeance on thoſe who had done him no injury; and the cruelties which the Ruſſians had committed in his dominions, were retaliated upon the unfortunate inhabitants of Saxony. In the latter end of September, the preſident of the Pruſſian military directory ſent a letter to the magiſtrates of Leipſick, requiring them, in the King's name, to pay a new contribution of ſix hundred thouſand crowns, and to begin immediately with the payment of one-third part, on pain of military execution. In anſwer to this demand, the magiſtrates repreſented that the city having been exhauſted by the enormous contributions already raiſed, was abſolutely incapable of furniſhing further ſupplies; that the trade was ſtagnated and ruined, and the inhabitants ſo impoveriſhed, that they could no longer pay the ordinary taxes. This remonſtrance made no impreſſion. At five in the morning the Pruſſian ſoldiers aſſembled, and were poſted in all the ſtreets, ſquares, market-places, cemeteries, towers, and ſteeples; then the gates being ſhut, in order to exclude the populace of the ſuburbs from the city, the ſenators were brought into the town-hall, and accoſted by General Hauſs, who told them, the King his maſter would have money; and, if they refuſed to part with it, the city ſhould be plundered. To this peremptory addreſs they replied to this effect:—"We have no "more money,—we have nothing left but life; and "we recommend ourſelves to the King's mercy." In conſequence of this declaration, diſpoſitions were made for giving up the city to be plundered. Cannon were planted in all the ſtreets, the inhabitants were ordered to remain within doors, and every houſe reſounded with diſmal cries and lamentations. The dreaded pillage, however, was converted into a regular exaction. A party of ſoldiers, commanded by a ſubaltern, went from houſe to houſe, ſignifying

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fying to every burgher that he ſhould produce all his ſpecie, on pain of immediate pillage and maſſacre; and every inhabitant delivered up his all without further heſitation. About ſix in the evening, the ſoldiers returned to their quarters: but the magiſtrates were detained in confinement, and all the citizens were overwhelmed with grief and conſternation. Happy Britain, who knoweſt ſuch grievances only by report! When the King of Pruſſia firſt entered Saxony, at the beginning of the war, he declared he had no deſign to make a conqueſt of that electorate, but only to keep it as a depoſitum for the ſecurity of his own dominions, until he could oblige his enemies to acquieſce in reaſonable terms of peace; but upon his laſt arrival at Dreſden he adopted a new reſolution. In the beginning of December, the Pruſſian directory of war iſſued a decree to the deputies of the States of the Electorate, demanding a certain quantity of flour and forage, according to the convention formerly ſettled: at the ſame time ſignifying, that though the King of Pruſſia had hitherto treated the Electorate as a country taken under his ſpecial protection, the face of affairs was now changed in ſuch a manner, that for the future he would conſider it in no other light than that of a conquered country. The Ruſſians had ſeized in Pruſſia all the eſtates and effects belonging to the King's officers: a retaliation was now made upon the effects of the Saxon officers, who ſerved in the Ruſſian army. Seals were put on all the cabinets containing papers belonging to the privy-counſellors of his Poliſh Majeſty, and they themſelves ordered to depart for Warſaw at a very ſhort warning. Though the city had been impoveriſhed by former exactions, and very lately ſubjected to military execution, the King of Pruſſia demanded freſh contributions, and even extorted them by dint of ſeverities that ſhock humanity. He ſurrounded the exchange with ſoldiers, and confining the

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the merchants to ſtraw-beds and naked apartments, obliged them to draw bills for very large ſums on their foreign correſpondents: a method of proceeding much more ſuitable to the deſpotiſm of a Perſian Sophi towards a conquered people who profeſſed a different faith, than reconcileable to the character of a Proteſtant prince towards a peaceable nation of brethren, with whom he was connected by the common ties of neighbourhood and religion. Even if they had acted as declared enemies, and been ſubdued with arms in their hands, the exceſſes of war on the ſide of the conqueror ought to have ceaſed with the hoſtilities of the conquered, who, by ſubmitting to his ſway, would have become his ſubjects, and in that capacity had a claim to his protection. To retaliate upon the Saxons, who had eſpouſed no quarrel, the barbarities committed by the Ruſſians, with whom he was actually at war; and to treat as a conquered province a neutral country, which his enemies had entered by violence, and been obliged to evacuate by force of arms: was a ſpecies of conduct founded on pretences which overturn all right, and confound all reaſon.

§ XLI. Having recorded all the tranſactions of the campaign, except thoſe in which the Swedes were concerned, it now remains that we ſhould particulariſe the progreſs which was made in Pomerania by the troops of that nation, under the command of Count Hamilton. We have already obſerved, that in the beginning of the year the Pruſſian General, Lehwald, had compelled them to evacuate the whole province, except Stralſund, which was likewiſe inveſted. This, in all probability, would have been beſieged in form, had not Lehwald reſigned the command of the Pruſſians, on account of his great age and infirmities, and his ſucceſſor Count Dohna been obliged to withdraw his troops, in order to oppoſe the Ruſſian army on the other ſide of Pomerania. The blockade of Stralſund being conſequently

consequently raised and that part of the country entirely evacuated by the Prussians, the Swedish troops advanced again from the isle of Rugen, to which they had retired: but the supplies and reinforcements they expected from Stockholm were delayed in such a manner, either from a deficiency in the subsidies promised by France, or from the management of those who were averse to the war, that great part of the season was elapsed before they undertook any important enterprize. Indeed, while they lay encamped under the cannon of Stralsund, waiting for these supplies, their operations were retarded by the explosion of a whole ship-load of gunpowder intended for their use; an event imputed to the practices of the Prussian party in Sweden, which at this period seemed to gain ground, and even threatened a change in the ministry. At length the reinforcement arrived about the latter end of June, and their General seemed determined to act with vigour. In the beginning of July, his army being put in motion, he sent a detachment to dislodge the few Prussian troops that were left at Anclam, Demmin, and other places, to guard that frontier; and they retreated accordingly. Count Hamilton having nothing further to oppose him in the field, in a very little time recovered all Swedish Pomerania, and even made hot incursions into the Prussian territories. Mean while, a combined fleet of thirty-three Russian and seven Swedish ships of war appeared in the Baltick, and anchored between the isles of Dragoe and Amagh; but they neither landed troops, nor committed hostilities. The Swedish General advanced as far as Fehrbellin, sent out parties that raised contributions within five-and-twenty miles of Berlin, and threw the inhabitants of that capital into the utmost consternation. The King of Prussia, alarmed at their progress, dispatched General Wedel from Dresden, with a body of troops that were augmented on their march; so that, on the

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the twentieth of September, he found himſelf at Berlin with eleven thouſand effective men, at the head of whom he proceeded againſt Count Hamilton, while the Prince of Bevern, with five thouſand, advanced on the other ſide from Stetin. At their approach, the Swediſh Commander retired, after having left a garriſon of fourteen hundred men at Fehrbellin, in order to retard the Pruſſians, and ſecure the retreat of his army. The place was immediately attacked by General Wedel; and though the Swedes diſputed the ground from houſe to houſe with uncommon obſtinacy, he at laſt drove them out of the town, with the loſs of one half of their number either killed or taken priſoners. The body of the Swediſh army, without hazarding any other action, immediately evacuated the Pruſſian territories, and returned to the neighbourhood of Stralſund, intending to take winter-quarters in the iſle of Rugen. Count Hamilton, either diſguſted at the reſtrictions he had been laid under, or finding himſelf unable to act in ſuch a manner as might redound to the advantage of his reputation, threw up his command, retired from the army, and reſigned all his other employments.

§ XLII. The King of Pruſſia was not only favoured by a conſiderable party in Sweden, but he had alſo raiſed a ſtrong intereſt in Poland, among ſuch Palatines as had always oppoſed the meaſures of the reigning family. Theſe were now reinforced by many patriots, who dreaded the vicinity, and ſuſpected the deſigns of the Ruſſian army. The diet of the republick was opened on the ſecond day of November; and, after warm debates, M. Malachowſki was unanimouſly elected Mareſchal; but no ſooner had the chambers of nuncios begun their deliberations, than a number of voices were raiſed againſt the encroachments of the Ruſſian troops, who had taken up their reſidence in Poland; and heavy complaints were made of the damages ſuſtained

tained from their cruelty and rapine. Great pains were taken to appeaſe theſe clamours; and many were prevailed upon to refer theſe grievances to the King in ſenate; but when this difficulty ſeemed almoſt ſurmounted, Padhorſki, the nuncio of Volhinia, ſtood up, and declared that he would not permit any other point to be diſcuſſed in the diet, while the Ruſſians maintained the leaſt footing within the territories of the republick. Vain were all the attempts of the courtiers to purſuade and mollify this inflexible patriot, he ſolemnly proteſted againſt their proceedings, and haſtily withdrew; ſo that the Mareſchal was obliged to diſſolve the aſſembly, and recourſe was had to a *ſenatus conſilium*, to concert proper meaſures to be taken in the preſent conjuncture. The King of Poland was, on this occaſion, likewiſe diſappointed in his views of providing for his ſon, Prince Charles, in the duchy of Courland. He had been recommended by the Court of Ruſſia, and even approved by the States of that country; but two difficulties occurred. The States declared, they could not proceed to a new election during the life of their former Duke, Count Biron, who was ſtill alive, though a priſoner in Siberia, unleſs their duchy ſhould be declared vacant by the King and Republick of Poland; and, according to the laws of that country, no Prince could be elected, until he ſhould have declared himſelf of the Augſburgh confeſſion. His Poliſh Majeſty, however, being determined to ſurmount all obſtacles to his ſon's intereſt, ordered Count Malachowſki, High Chancellor of Poland, to deliver to Prince Charles a diploma, by which the King granted permiſſion to the States of Courland to elect that Prince for their Duke, and appointed the day for his election and inſtalment; which accordingly took place in the month of January, notwithſtanding the clamour of many Poliſh grandees, who perſiſted in affirming that the King had no power to grant ſuch permiſſion without

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without the conſent of the diet. The viciſſitudes of the campaign had produced no revolutions in the ſeveral ſyſtems adopted by the different powers in Europe. The Czarina, who in the month of June had ſignified her ſentiments and deſigns againſt the King of Pruſſia, in a declaration delivered to all the foreign miniſters at Peterſburgh, ſeemed now, more than ever, determined to act vigorouſly in behalf of the Empreſs-Queen of Hungary, and the unfortunate King of Poland, who ſtill reſided at Warſaw. The Court of Vienna diſtributed among the Imperial miniſters at the ſeveral courts of the Empire copies of a reſcript, explaining the conduct of her Generals ſince the beginning of the campaign, and concluding with expreſſions of ſelf-approbation to this effect: "Though the iſſue of the campaign be not as yet entirely ſatisfactory, and ſuch as might be deſired, the Imperial court enjoys, at leaſt, the ſincere ſatisfaction of reflecting, that, according to the change of circumſtances, it inſtantly took the moſt vigorous reſolutions; that it was never deficient in any thing that might contribute to the good of the common cauſe, and is now employed in making preparations, from which the moſt happy conſequences may be expected."

§ XLIII. We have already hinted at a decree of the Aulick council of the Empire, publiſhed in the month of Auguſt, enjoining all directors of circles, all Imperial towns, and the nobleſſe of the Empire, to tranſmit to Vienna an exiſt liſt of all thoſe who had diſobeyed the avocatoria of the Empire, and adhered to the rebellion raiſed by the Elector of Brandenburgh; that their revenues might be ſequeſtered, and themſelves puniſhed in their honours, perſons, and effects. As the elector of Hanover was plainly pointed out, and, indeed, expreſsly mentioned in this decree, the King of Great-Britain, by the hands of Baron Gemmegen, his electoral miniſter, preſented a memorial to the diet of the Empire

pire in the month of November, enumerating the instances in which he exerted himself, and even exposed his life, for the preservation and aggrandisement of the House of Austria. In return for these important services, he observed, that the Empress Queen had refused him the assistance stipulated in treaties against an invasion planned by France, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself by his friendship to that Princess; and his Imperial Majesty even denied him the dictatorial letters which he solicited; that the Court of Vienna had signed a treaty with the Crown of France, in which it was stipulated that the French troops should pass the Weser, and invade the electorate of Hanover, where they were joined by the troops of the Empress-Queen, who ravaged his Britannick Majesty's dominions with greater cruelty than even the French had practised; and the same Duke of Cumberland, who had been wounded at Dettingen in the defence of her Imperial Majesty, was obliged to fight at Hastenbeck against the troops of that very Princess, in defence of his father's dominions; that she sent commissaries to Hanover, who shared with the Crown of France the contributions extorted from that Electorate: rejected all propofals of peace, and dismissed from her court the minister of Brunswick-Lunenbourg; that his Imperial Majesty, who had sworn to protect the Empire, and oppose the entrance of foreign troops destined to oppress any of the States of Germany, afterwards required the King of England to withdraw his troops from the countries which they occupied, that the French army might again have free passage into his German dominions: that the Emperor had recalled these troops, released them from their allegiance to their Sovereign, enjoined them to abandon their posts, their colours, and the service in which they were embarked, on pain of being punished in body, honour, and estate; and that the King of England himself was threatened with

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with the ban of the Empire. He took notice, that, in quality of Elector, he had been accuſed of refuſing to concur with the reſolutions of the diet taken in the preceding year, of entering into alliance with the King of Pruſſia, joining his troops to the armies of that Prince, employing auxiliaries belonging to the States of the Empire, ſending Engliſh forces into Germany, where they had taken poſſeſſion of Embden, and exacting contributions in different parts of Germany. In anſwer to theſe imputations, he alledged that he could not, conſiſtent with his own ſafety, or the dictates of common ſenſe, concur with a majority, in joining his troops, which were immediately neceſſary for his own defence, to thoſe which, from the arbitrary views of the Court of Vienna, were led againſt his friend and ally, the King of Pruſſia, by a Prince who did not belong to the generality of the Empire, and on whom the command had been conferred, without a previous concluſum of the Germanick body; that, with reſpect to his alliance with the King of Pruſſia, he had a right, when deſerted by his former allies, to ſeek aſſiſtance whereſoever it could be procured: and ſurely no juſt grounds of complaint could be offered againſt that which his Pruſſian Majeſty lent, to deliver the electoral States of Brunſwick, as well as thoſe of Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttel, Heſſe, and Buckebourg, from the oppreſſions of their common enemy. Poſterity, he ſaid, would hardly believe, that at a time when the troops of Auſtria, the Palatinate, and Wirtemberg, were engaged to invade the countries of the Empire, other members of the Germanick body, who employed auxiliaries in their defence, ſhould be threatened with outlawry, and ſequeſtration. He owned, that, in quality of King, he had ſent over Engliſh troops to Germany, and taken poſſeſſion of Embden; ſteps for which he was accountable to no power upon earth, although the conſtitutions of the Empire permit the co-eſtates to make

make uſe of foreign troops, not indeed for the purpoſe of invaſion or conqueſt in Germany, but for their defence and preſervation. He alſo acknowledged that he had reſented the conduct, and chaſtiſed the injuſtice, of thoſe co-eſtates who had aſſiſted his enemies, and helped to ravage his dominions: inferring, that if the Crown of France was free to pillage the eſtates of the Duke of Brunſwick, and the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, becauſe they had ſupplied the King of England with auxiliaries; if the Empreſs-Queen had a right to appropriate to herſelf half of the contributions raiſed by the French King in theſe countries; ſurely his Britannick Majeſty had an equal right to make thoſe feel the burthen of the war who had favoured the unjuſt enterpriſes of his enemies. He expreſſed his hope, that the diet, after having duly conſidered theſe circumſtances, would, by way of advice, propoſe to his Imperial Majeſty that he ſhould annul his moſt inconſiſtent mandates, and not only take effectual meaſures to protect the Electorate and its allies, but alſo give orders for commencing againſt the Empreſs-Queen, as Archduchеſs of Auſtria, the Elector Palatine, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, ſuch proceedings as ſhe wanted to enforce againſt his Britannick Majeſty, Elector of Brunſwick-Lunenbourg. For this purpoſe the miniſter now requeſted their Excellencies to aſk immediately the neceſſary inſtructions for their principals. The reſt of this long memorial contained a juſtification of his Britannick Majeſty's conduct in deviating from the capitulation of Cloſter-Seven; with a refutation of the arguments adduced, and a retortion of the reproaches levelled againſt the King of England, in the paper or manifeſto compoſed and publiſhed under the direction of the French miniſtry, and intituled, "A Parallel of the Conduct of the King of France with that of the King of England, relative to the breach of the Capitulation of Cloſter-Seven

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by the Hanoverians." But to this invective a more circumſtantial anſwer was publiſhed: in which, among other curious particulars, the letter of expoſtulation, ſaid to have been written by the Pruſſian Monarch to the King of Great-Britain after the defeat at Colin, is treated as an infamous piece of forgery, produced by ſome venal pen employed to impoſe upon the publick. The author alſo, in his endeavours to demonſtrate his Britannick Majeſty's averſion to a continental war, very juſtly obſerves, that "none but ſuch as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England can believe, that, without a diverſion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy's force, ſhe is not in a condition to hope for ſucceſs, and maintain her ſuperiority at ſea. England, therefore, had no intereſt to foment quarrels or wars in Europe; but, for the ſame reaſon, there was room to fear that France would embrace a different ſyſtem: accordingly, ſhe took no pains to conceal her views, and her envoys declared publickly, that a war upon the continent was inevitable; and that the King's dominions in Germany would be its principal object." He afterwards, in the courſe of of his argumentation, adds, "That they muſt be very ignorant, indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to reſiſt thoſe of France, unleſs the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the ſea. In caſe of a war upon the continent, the two powers muſt pay ſubſidies; only with this difference, that France can employ her own land forces, and aſpire at conqueſts." Such were the profeſſed ſentiments of the Britiſh miniſtry, founded upon eternal truth and demonſtration, and openly avowed, when the buſineſs was to prove that it was not the intereſt of Great-Britain to maintain a war upon the continent; but, afterwards, when this continental war was eagerly eſpouſed, foſtered, and cheriſhed by the blood and treaſure of the Engliſh nation, then the partiſans of that very miniſtry,

which

which had thus declared that England, without any diverſion on the continent of Europe, was an overmatch for France by ſea, which may be termed the Britiſh element; then their partiſans, their champions, declaimers, and dependents were taught to riſe in rebellion againſt their former doctrine, and, in defiance of common ſenſe and reflection, affirm that a diverſion in Germany was abſolutely neceſſary to the ſucceſsful iſſue of England's operations in Aſia, Africa, and America. Notwithſtanding all the facts and arguments aſſembled in this elaborate memorial, to expoſe the ingratitude of the Empreſs-Queen, and demonſtrate the oppreſſive meaſures adopted by the Imperial power, it remains to be proved, that the member of a community is not obliged to yield obedience to the reſolutions taken, and the decrees publiſhed, by the majority of thoſe who compoſe this community; eſpecially when reinforced with the authority of the ſupreme magiſtrate, and not repugnant to the fundamental conſtitution on which that community was eſtabliſhed.

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§ XLIV. If the Empreſs-Queen was not gratified to the extent of her wiſhes in the fortune of the campaign, at leaſt her ſelf-importance was flattered in another point, which could not fail of being intereſting to a Princeſs famed for a glowing zeal and inviolable attachment to the religion of Rome. In the month of Auguſt the Pope conferred upon her the title of Apoſtolical Queen of Hungary, conveyed by a brief, in which he extolled her piety, and launched out into retroſpective eulogiums of her predeceſſors, the Princes of Hungary, who had been always accuſtomed to fight and overcome for the catholick faith under this holy banner. This compliment, however, ſhe did not derive from the regard of Proſper Lambertini, who exerciſed the papal ſway under the aſſumed name of Benedict XIV. That pontiff, univerſally eſteemed for his good ſenſe, moderation, and humanity, had breathed

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§ XLV. The King of Spain wisely persisted in reaping the advantages of a neutrality, notwithstanding the intrigues of the French partisans at the Court of Madrid, who endeavoured to alarm his jealousy by the conquests which the English had projected in America. The King of Sardinia sagaciously kept aloof, resolving, in imitation of his predecessors, to maintain his power on a respectable footing, and be ready to seize all opportunities to extend and promote the interest of his crown, and the advantage of his country. As for the King of Portugal, he had prudently embraced the same system of forbearance: but in the latter end of the season, his attention was engrossed by a domestick incident of a very extraordinary nature. Whether he had, by particular instances of severity, exasperated the minds of certain individuals, and exercised his dominion in such acts of arbitrary power as excited a general spirit of disaffection among his nobility;

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or, laſtly, by the vigorous meaſures purſued againſt the encroaching Jeſuits in Paraguay, and their correſpondents in Portugal, had incurred the reſentment of that ſociety, we ſhall not pretend to determine: perhaps all theſe motives concurred in giving birth to a conſpiracy againſt his life, which was actually executed at this juncture with the moſt deſperate reſolution. On the third day of September, the King, according to cuſtom, going out in a carriage to take the air, accompanied by one domeſtick, was, in the night, at a ſolitary place near Belem, attacked by three men on horſeback, armed with muſquetoons, one of whom fired his piece at the coachman without effect. The man, however, terrified both on his own account and that of his Sovereign's, drove the mules at full ſpeed; a circumſtance which, in ſome meaſure, diſconcerted the other two conſpirators, who purſued him at full gallop, and having no leiſure to take aim, diſcharged their pieces at random through the back of the carriage. The ſlugs with which they were loaded happened to paſs between the King's right arm and his breaſt, dilacerating the parts from the ſhoulder to the elbow, but without damaging the bone, or penetrating into the cavity of the body. Finding himſelf grievouſly wounded, and the blood flowing a-pace, he, with ſuch preſence of mind as cannot be ſufficiently admired, inſtead of proceeding to the palace, which was at ſome diſtance, ordered the coachman to return to Junqueria, where his principal ſurgeon reſided, and there his wounds were immediately dreſſed. By this reſolution he not only prevented the irreparable miſchief that might have ariſen from an exceſſive effuſion of blood; but, without all doubt, ſaved his life from the hands of other aſſaſſins, poſted on the road to accompliſh the regicide, in caſe he ſhould eſcape alive from the firſt attack. This inſtance of the King's recollection was magnified into a miracle, on a ſuppoſition that it muſt have been

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the effect of divine inſpiration: and, indeed, among a people addicted to ſuperſtition, might well paſs for a favourable interpoſition of Providence. The King being thus diſabled in his right arm, iſſued a decree, inveſting the Queen with the abſolute power of government. In the mean time, no perſon had acceſs to his preſence but herſelf, the firſt miniſter, the Cardinal de Saldanha, the phyſicians, and ſurgeons. An embargo was immediately laid on all the ſhipping in the port of Liſbon. Rewards were publickly offered, together with the promiſe of pardon to the accomplices, for detecting any of the aſſaſſins; and ſuch other meaſures uſed, that in a little time the whole conſpiracy was diſcovered: a conſpiracy the more dangerous, as it appeared to have been formed by perſons of the firſt quality and influence. The Duke de Aveiro, of the family of Maſcarenhas; the Marquis de Tavora, who had been Viceroy of Goa, and now actually enjoyed the commiſſion of General of the horſe; the Count de Attougui, the Marquis de Alloria, together with their wives, children, and whole families, were arreſted immediately after the aſſaſſination, as principals in the deſign; and many other accomplices, including ſome Jeſuits, were apprehended in the ſequel. The further proceedings on this myſterious affair, with the fate of the conſpirators, will be particulariſed among the tranſactions of the following year. At preſent, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that the King's wounds were attended with no bad conſequences; nor did the impriſonment of thoſe noblemen produce any diſturbance in the kingdom.

§ XLVI. The domeſtic occurrences of France were tiſſued with a continuation of the diſputes between the Parliaments and Clergy, touching the bull Unigenitus. In vain the King had interpoſed his authority: firſt propoſing an accommodation; then commanding the Parliament to forbear taking cognizance of a religious conteſt, which did not fall under

under their juriſdiction; and, thirdly, baniſhing their perſons, and abrogating their power. He afterwards found it neceſſary to the peace of his dominions to recal and re-inſtate thoſe venerable patriots; and being convinced of the intolerable inſolence and turbulent ſpirit of the Archbiſhop of Paris, had exiled that prelate in his turn. He was no ſooner re-admitted to his function, than he reſumed his former conduct, touching the denial of the ſacraments to thoſe who refuſed to acknowledge the bull Unigenitus: he even acted with redoubled zeal; intrigued with the other prelates; caballed among the inferior clergy; and not only revived, but augmented, the troubles throughout the whole kingdom. Biſhops, curates, and monks preſumed to with-hold ſpiritual conſolation from perſons in extremity, and were puniſhed by the civil power. Other Parliaments of the kingdom followed the example exhibited by that of Paris, in aſſerting their authority and privileges. The King commanded them to deſiſt, on pain of incurring his indignation; they remonſtrated, and perſevered; while the Archbiſhop repeated his injunctions and cenſures, and continued to inflame the diſpute to ſuch a dangerous degree, that he was given to underſtand he ſhould be again obliged to quit the capital, if he did not proceed with more moderation. But the chief care of the French miniſtry was employed in regulating the finances, and eſtabliſhing funds of credit for raiſing money to pay ſubſidies, and maintain the war in Europe and America. In the courſe of this year they had not only conſiderably reinforced their armies in Germany, but made ſurpriſing efforts to ſupply the colony of Canada with troops, artillery, ſtores, and ammunition, for its defence againſt the operations of the Britiſh forces, which greatly outnumbered the French upon the continent. The Court of Verſailles practiſed every ſtratagem to elude the vigilance of the Engliſh cruiſers. The ſhips

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destined for America they detached, both single and in convoys, sometimes from the Mediterranean, sometimes from their harbours in the Channel. They assembled transports in one port, in order to withdraw the attention of their enemies from another, where their convoys lay ready for sailing; and in boisterous weather, when the English could no longer block up their harbours, their store-ships came forth, and hazarded the voyage, for the relief of their American settlements. Those that had the good fortune to arrive on the coast of that continent were obliged to have recourse to different expedients for escaping the British squadrons stationed at Halifax, or cruising in the bay of St. Laurence. They either ventured to navigate the river before it was clear of the ice, so early in the spring, that the enemy had not yet quitted the harbour of Nova-Scotia; or they waited on the coast of Newfoundland for such thick fogs as might screen them from the notice of the English cruizers, in sailing up the gulf; or, lastly, they penetrated through the Straits of Belleisle, a dangerous passage, which, however, led them directly into the river St. Laurence, at a considerable distance above the station of the British squadron. Though the French navy was by this time so reduced, that it could neither face the English at sea, nor furnish proper convoys for commerce, her ministry nevertheless attempted to alarm the subjects of Great-Britain with the project of an invasion. Flat-bottomed boats were built, transports collected, large ships of the line equipped, and troops ordered to assemble on the coast for embarkation; but this was no more than a feint to arouse the apprehension of the English, disconcert the administration, prejudice the national credit, and deter the government from sending forces to keep alive the war in Germany. A much more effectual method they took to distress the trade of England, by laying up their useless ships of war, and encouraging the equipment

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of ſtout privateers, which did conſiderable damage to the commerce of Great-Britain and Ireland, by cruiſing in the ſeas of Europe and America. Some of them lay cloſe in the harbours of the Channel, fronting the coaſt of England, and darted out occaſionally on the trading ſhips of this nation, as they received intelligence from boats employed for that purpoſe. Some choſe their ſtation in the North-ſea, where a great number of captures were made upon the coaſt of Scotland; others cruiſed in the chops of the Channel, and even to the weſtward of Ireland; but the far greater number ſcoured the ſeas in the neighbourhood of the Leeward Iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, where they took a prodigious number of Britiſh ſhips, ſailing to and from the ſugar-colonies, and conveyed them to their own ſettlements in Martinique, Guadaloupe, or St. Domingo.

§ XLVII. With reſpect to the war that raged in Germany, the King of Denmark wiſely purſued that courſe, which happily preſerved him from being involved in thoſe troubles by which great part of Europe was agitated, and terminated in that point of national advantage which a King ought ever to have in view for the benefit of his people. By obſerving a ſcrupulous neutrality, he enhanced his importance among his neighbours: he ſaw himſelf courted by all the belligerent powers: he ſaved the blood and treaſure of his ſubjects: he received large ſubſidies, in conſideration of his forbearance; and enjoyed, unmoleſted, a much more conſiderable ſhare of commerce than he could expect to carry on, even in times of univerſal tranquillity. He could not perceive that the Proteſtant religion had any thing to apprehend from the confederacy which was formed againſt the Pruſſian Monarch; nor was he miſled into all the expence, the perils, and diſquiets of a ſanguinary war, by that *ignis fatuus* which hath ſeduced and impoveriſhed other opulent nations, under the ſpecious title of the balance of power in Germany.

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Germany. Howſoever he might be ſwayed by private inclination, he did not think it was a point of conſequence to his kingdom, whether Pomerania was poſſeſſed by Sweden or Pruſſia; whether the French army was driven back beyond the Rhine, or penetrated once more into the electorate of Hanover: whether the Empreſs-Queen was ſtripped of her remaining poſſeſſions in Sileſia, or the King of Pruſſia circumſcribed within the original bound of his dominion. He took it for granted that France, for her own ſake, would prevent the ruin of that enterpriſing Monarch; and that the Houſe of Auſtria would not be ſo impolitick, and blind to its own intereſt, as to permit the Empreſs of Ruſſia to make and retain conqueſts in the Empire: but even if theſe powers ſhould be weak enough to ſacrifice all the maxims of ſound policy to caprice or reſentment, he did not think himſelf ſo deeply concerned in the event, as, for the diſtant proſpect of what might poſſibly happen, to plunge headlong into a war that muſt be attended with certain and immediate diſadvantages. True it is, he had no hereditary electorate in Germany that was threatened with invaſion; nor, if he had, it is to be ſuppoſed that a Prince of his ſagacity and patriotiſm would have impoveriſhed his kingdom of Denmark, for the precarious defence of a diſtant territory. It was reſerved for another nation to adopt the pernicious abſurdity of waſting its blood and treaſure, exhauſting its revenues, loading its own back with the moſt grievous impoſitions, incurring an enormous debt, big with bankruptcy and ruin; in a word, of expending above an hundred and fifty millions ſterling in fruitleſs efforts to defend a diſtant country, the entire property of which was never valued at one twentieth part of that ſum; a country with which it had no natural connexion, but a common alliance ariſing from accident. The King of Denmark, though himſelf a Prince of the Empire, and poſſeſſed

of dominions in Germany, almoſt contiguous to the ſcenes of the preſent war, did not yet think himſelf ſo nearly concerned in the iſſue, as to declare himſelf either principal or auxiliary in the quarrel: yet he took care to maintain his forces by ſea and land upon a reſpectable footing; and by this conduct, he not only provided for the ſecurity of his own country, but overawed the belligerent Powers, who conſidered him as a Prince capable of making either ſcale preponderate, juſt as he might chooſe to trim the balance. Thus he preſerved his wealth, commerce, and conſequence undiminiſhed; and, inſtead of being haraſſed as a party, was honoured as an umpire. CHAP. IX. 1758.

§ XLVIII. The United Provinces, though as adverſe as his Daniſh Majeſty to any participation in the war, did not, however, ſo ſcrupulouſly obſerve the neutrality they profeſſed: at leaſt, the traders of that republick, either from an inordinate thirſt of lucre, or a ſecret biaſs in favour of the enemies of Great-Britain, aſſiſted the French commerce with all the appearance of the moſt flagrant partiality. We have, in the beginning of this year's tranſactions, obſerved, that a great number of their ſhips were taken by the Engliſh cruiſers, and condemned as legal prizes, for having French property on board: that the Dutch merchants, exaſperated by their loſſes, exclaimed againſt the Engliſh as pirates and robbers, petitioned the States for redreſs in very high terms, and even loudly clamoured for a war againſt Great-Britain. The charge of violence and injuſtice, which they brought againſt the Engliſh, for taking and confiſcating the ſhips that tranſported to Europe the produce of the French iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, they founded on the tenth article of the treaty of commerce between Great-Britain and the States-General of the United Provinces, concluded in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-eight, ſtipulating, "That whatever ſhall be found on board the

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Europe and America; and, as they have ſo openly contravened one treaty, the Engliſh are not obliged to obſerve an other. They, moreover, forfeited all right to the obſervance of the treaty in queſtion, by refuſing the ſuccours with which they were bound, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to furniſh the King of Great-Britain, in caſe any of his territories in Europe ſhould be attacked: for nothing could be more weak and frivolous than the allegation upon which this refuſal was founded: namely, that the hoſtilities in Europe were commenced by the Engliſh, when they ſeiſed and confiſcated the veſſels of France; and they, being the aggreſſors, had no right to inſiſt upon the ſuccours ſtipulated in a treaty which was purely defenſive. If this argument has any weight, the treaty itſelf can have no ſignification. The French, as in the preſent caſe, will always commence the war in America; and when their ſhips, containing reinforcements and ſtores for the maintenance of that war, ſhall be taken on the European ſeas, perhaps in conſequence of their being expoſed for that purpoſe, they will exclaim that the Engliſh were the aggreſſors in Europe, conſequently deprived of all benefit accruing from the defenſive treaty ſubſiſting between them and the States-General of the United Provinces. It being impoſſible for the Engliſh to terminate the war, while their enemies derive the ſinews of it from their commerce carried on in neutral bottoms, they are obliged to ſuppreſs ſuch colluſions, by that neceſſity which Grotius himſelf hath allowed to be a ſufficient excuſe for deviating from the letter of any treaty whatſoever. In time of peace no Dutch ſhips were permitted to carry the produce of any French ſugar iſland, or even to trade in any of the French ports in America or the Weſt-Indies; conſequently, the treaty which they quote can never juſtify them in carrying on a commerce, which, as it did not exiſt, and was not

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foreſeen, could not poſſibly be guarded againſt when that convention was ratified. Grotius, whoſe authority is held in ſuch veneration among the Dutch, has determined that every nation has a right to ſeize and confiſcate the goods of any neutral power, which ſhall attempt to carry them into any place which is blocked up by that nation, either by land or ſea. The French iſlands in the Weſt-Indies were ſo blocked up by the Engliſh cruiſers, that they could receive no relief from their own government, conſequently no neutral power could attempt to ſupply them without falling under this predicament*. It was for theſe reaſons that the King of England declared, by the mouth of Mr. Yorke, his miniſter plenipotentiary at the Hague, in a conference held in the month of Auguſt with the Deputies of the States-General, that though he was ready to concur in every meaſure that ſhould be propoſed for giving ſatisfaction to their High Mightineſſes, with whom he had always ſtudied to live in the moſt perfect union, he was nevertheleſs determined not to ſuffer the trade of the French colonies in America to be carried on by the ſubjects of other Powers, under the ſpecious pretext of neutrality: nor to permit words to be interpreted as a licence to drive a trade with his enemies, which, though not particularly ſpecified in the articles of contraband, was nevertheleſs rendered ſuch in all reſpects, and in every ſenſe, by the nature of the circumſtances. It is not at all

* In the reign of King William, when the Engliſh and Dutch were engaged in a war againſt France, the northern Powers of Sweden and Denmark attempted to carry on the French commerce, under the ſhade of neutrality; but the Dutch and Engliſh joined in ſeiſing the veſſels that were thus employed. Complaints of theſe captures were made at London and the Hague, and the complainants were given to underſtand at both places, that they ſhould not be allowed to carry on any trade with France, but what was uſual in time of peace. In conſequence of this declaration, Mr. Groning formed the deſign of writing a treatiſe on the freedom of navigation, and communicated the plan of his work to the celebrated Puffendorff, who ſignified his ſentiments in a letter, which is preſerved by the learned Barbeyrac, in his notes upon that author's treatiſe on the Law of Nature and Nations.

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more ſurpriſing that the Dutch merchants ſhould complain, than that the Engliſh government ſhould perſiſt in confiſcating the ſhips that were found to contain the merchandiſe of their enemies. The individual traders of every mercantile nation will run conſiderable riſques in extending their particular commerce, even when they know it muſt be detrimental to the general intereſt of their country. In the war maintained by the Confederates againſt Louis XIV. of France, the merchant ſhips of the Dutch carried on an uninterrupted trade to the French ports: and, notwithſtanding the repeated ſolicitations of England, the States-General could never be prevailed upon to prohibit this commerce, which undoubtedly enabled France to protract the war. The truth is, they gave the Britiſh miniſtry to underſtand, that unleſs they connived at this traffick, their ſubjects could not poſſibly defray their proportion of the expence at which the war was maintained. It is well known through all Europe, that the ſubjects of the United Provinces reaped conſiderable advantage, not only from this branch of illicit trade, but alſo by providing for both armies in Flanders, and by the practice of ſtock-jobbing in England; conſequently, it was not the intereſt, either of the States-General, or the Engliſh General, between whom there was a very good underſtanding, to bring that war to a ſpeedy concluſion; nor indeed, ought we to fix the imputation of partiality upon a whole nation, for the private conduct of individuals, influenced by motives of ſelf-intereſt, which co-operate with the ſame energy in Holland, and among the ſubjects of Great-Britain. In the courſe of the former war, ſuch a ſcandalous appetite for gain prevailed in different parts of the Britiſh dominions, that the French iſlands were actually ſupplied with proviſions, ſlaves, and lumber, from Ireland and the Britiſh colonies in North-America; and Martinique, in particular, muſt have ſurrendered to the Commander

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Commander of the Engliſh ſquadron ſtationed in thoſe ſeas, had it not been thus ſupported by Engliſh ſubjects. Certain it is, the Dutch had ſome reaſon to complain that they were decoyed into this ſpecies of traffick by the article of a treaty, which, in their opinion, admitted of no limitation; and that the government of Great-Britain, without any previous warning, or explaining its ſentiments on this ſubject, ſwept the ſea at once of all their veſſels employed in this commerce, and condemned them, without mitigation, to the entire ruin of many thouſand families. Conſidering the intimate connection of mutual intereſt ſubſiſting between Great-Britain and the States of the United Provinces, they ſeem to have had ſome right to an intimation of this nature, which, in all probability, would have induced them to reſign all proſpect of advantage from the proſecution of ſuch traffick.

§ XLIX. Beſides the univerſal clamour excited in Holland, and the famous memorial preſented to the States-General, which we have already mentioned in another place, a deputation of merchants waited four times ſucceſſively on the Princeſs Regent, to explain their grievances, and demand her concurrence in augmenting the navy for the preſervation of their commerce. She promiſed to interpoſe her beſt offices with the Court of Great-Britain; and theſe co-operating with repreſentations made by the States-General, the Engliſh miniſter was empowered to open conferences at the Hague, in order to bring all matters in diſpute to an amicable accommodation. Theſe endeavours, however, proved ineffectual. The Britiſh cruiſers continued to take, and the Britiſh Courts to condemn, all Dutch veſſels containing the produce of the French ſugar iſlands. The merchants of Holland and Zealand renewed their complaints with redoubled clamour, and all the trading part of the nation, reinforced by the whole party that oppoſed the Houſe of Orange, cried

cried aloud for an immediate augmentation of the marine, and repriſals upon the pirates of England. The Princeſs, in order to avoid extremities, was obliged not only to employ all her perſonal influence with the States-General, but alſo to play off one faction againſt another, in the way of remonſtrance and exclamation. As far back as the month of June, ſhe preſented a memorial to the States-General, reminding them, that in the beginning of the war between France and England, ſhe had adviſed an augmentation ſhould be made in their land forces, to ſtrengthen the garriſons of the frontier towns, and cover the territories of the republick from invaſion. She gave them to underſtand, that the provinces of Gueldres and Overyſſel, intimidated by the proximity of two formidable armies, had reſolved to demand that the augmentation of their land forces ſhould be taken into conſideration by the other provinces; and requeſted her to reinforce their ſolicitations that this meaſure might immediately take place. This requeſt, ſhe ſaid, ſhe the more readily granted, as ſhe could not but be ſenſible of the imminent danger that threatened the Republick, eſpecially ſince the Hanoverian army had paſſed the Rhine; and as it behoved the State to put itſelf in a condition to hinder either army from retiring into the territories of the Republick, if it ſhould be defeated; for, in that caſe, the conqueror being authoriſed to purſue his enemy wherever he can find him, would bring the war into the heart of their country. This repreſentation had no other effect than that of ſuſpending the meaſure which each party propoſed. The Princeſs, in her anſwer to the fourth deputation of the merchants, declared that ſhe beheld the preſent ſtate of their trade with the moſt anxious concern; that its want of protection was not her fault, but that of the towns of Dort, Haerlem, Amſterdam, Torgau, Rotterdam, and the Brille, to whoſe conduct it was owing, that the

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exposed to all sorts of misfortune and danger, both now and hereafter. CHAP. IX. 1758.

§ L. In consequence of this interposition, the States-General that same day sent a letter to the States of Holland and West-Friesland, communicating the sentiments of the Princess-Regent, and insisting upon the necessity of complying with her proposal of the double augmentation. They observed, that an augmentation of the land forces, for the defence of the frontiers, was unavoidable, as well as an equipment by sea for the security of commerce: that the States of the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overyssel, and Groningen, joined with them in the same opinion; and accordingly had insisted, by divers letters and propositions, on those two points so essential to the publick interest. They represented the danger of delay, and the fatal effects of discord: they proposed, that by a reciprocal indulgence one party should comply with the sentiments of the other, in order to avoid a schism and dangerous division among the confederates, the consequences of which would be very deplorable; while the republick, in the mean time, would remain in a defenceless condition, both by sea and land, and depend upon the arbitrary power of its neighbours. They conjured them, therefore, as they valued the safety of their country, and all that was dear to them, as they regarded the protection of the good inhabitants, the concord and harmony which at all times, but especially at the present critical juncture, was of the last necessity, that they would seriously reflect upon the exhortations of her Royal Highness, as well as on the repeated instances of the majority of the confederates, and take a wise and salutary resolution with regard to the proposed augmentation of the land-forces, so that this addition, together with an equipment at sea, might, the sooner the better, be unanimously brought to a conclusion. It was undoubtedly the duty of all who wished well to their

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country, to moderate the heat and precipitation of those, who, provoked by their losses, and stimulated by resentment, endeavoured at this period to involve their nation in a war with Great-Britain. Had matters been pushed to this extremity, in a few months the republick would, in all probability, have been brought to the brink of ruin. The Dutch were distracted by internal divisions; they were altogether unprovided for hostilities by sea; the ocean was covered with their trading vessels; and the naval armaments of Great-Britain were so numerous and powerful as to render all resistance on that element equally vain and pernicious. The English could not only have scoured the seas, and made prize of their shipping, but were also in a condition to reduce or demolish all their towns in Zealand, where they would hardly have met with any opposition.

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§ I. *Domeſtick occurrences in Great-Britain.* § II. *Trials of Drs. Henſey and Shebbeare.* § III. *Inſtitution of the Magdalen and Aſylum.* § IV. *Society for the encouragement of arts.* § V. *Seſſion opened.* § VI. *New treaty with the King of Pruſſia.* § VII. *Supplies granted.* § VIII. *King's meſſage to the Commons.* § IX. *Bills relating to the diſtillery, and the exportation of corn.* § X. *Petition from the Juſtices of Norfolk.* § XI. *Bill for the importation of ſalted beef from Ireland continued.* § XII. *Regulations with reſpect to privateers.* § XIII. *New militia laws.* § XIV. *Act for the relief of debtors revived.* § XV. *Bills for the importation of Iriſh beef and tallow.* § XVI. *Act relative to Milford-haven.* § XVII. *Bill relative to the duty on penſions.* § XVIII *Act relative to the duty on plate.* § XIX. *Cambrick act.* § XX *Unſucceſsful bills.* § XXI. *Caſe of the inſolvent debtors.* § XXII. *Caſe of Captain Walker.* § XXIII. *Remarks on the bankrupt-laws.* § XXIV. *Enquiry into the ſtate of the poor.* § XXV. *Regulations of weights and meaſures.* § XXVI. *Reſolutions concerning the Foundling-hoſpital.* § XXVII. *Meſſages from the King to the Parliament.* § XXVIII. *Seſſion cloſed.* § XXIX. *Preparations for War.* § XXX. *Death of the Princeſs of Orange and Princeſs Elizabeth Caroline.* § XXXI. *Examples made of pirates.* § XXXII. *Accounts of ſome remarkable murders.* § XXXIII. *Murder of Daniel Clarke.* § XXXIV. *Majority of the Prince of Wales.* § XXXV. *Reſolutions concerning a new Bridge at Black-friars.* § XXXVI. *Fire in Cornhill.* § XXXVII. *Method contrived to find out the longitude.* § XXXVIII. *Inſtallation at Oxford.* § XXXIX. *Deplorable incident at ſea.* § XL. *Captures made by ſeperate*

cruiſers. § XLI. *Captain Hood takes the Bellona.* § XLII. *And Captain Barrington the Count de St. Florentin.* § XLIII. *Captain Falkner takes a French Eaſt-Indiaman.* § XLIV. *Prizes taken in the Weſt-Indies.* § XLV. *Engagement between the Hercules and the Floriſſant.* § XLVI. *Haver-de-Grace bombarded by Admiral Rodney.* § XLVII. *Adm. Boſcawen defeats M. de la Clue.* § XLVIII. *Preparations made by the French for invading England.* § XLIX. *Account of Thurot.* § L. *French fleet ſails from Breſt.* § LI. *Admiral Hawke defeats M. de Conflans.* § LII. *Proceedings of the Iriſh Parliament.* § LIII. *Loyalty of the Iriſh catholicks.* § LIV. *Dangerous inſurrection in Dublin.* § LV. *Alarm of a deſcent in Scotland.*

§ I. WHILE the operations of the war were proſecuted through the four quarters of the globe, the iſland of Great-Britain, which may be termed the centre that gave motion to this vaſt machine, enjoyed all the tranquillity of the moſt profound peace, and ſaw nothing of war but the preparations and trophies, which ſerved only to animate the nation to a deſire of further conqueſt; for the dejection occaſioned by the misfortune at St. Cas ſoon vaniſhed before the proſpect of victory and ſucceſs. Conſidering the agitation naturally produced among the common people, by the practice of preſſing men into the ſervice of the navy, which, in the beginning of the year, had been carried on with unuſual violence, the levy of ſo many new corps of ſoldiers, and the endeavours uſed in forming the national militia, very few diſturbances happened to interupt the internal repoſe of the nation. From private acts of malice, fraud, violence, and rapine, no community whatſoever is exempted. In the month of April, the temporary wooden-bridge over the Thames, built for the convenience of carriages and paſſengers, while the workmen ſhould be employed

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in widening and repairing London-Bridge, was maliciouſly ſet on fire in the night, and continued burning till noon next day, when the ruins of it fell into the river. The deſtruction of this conveniency proved very detrimental to the commerce of the city, notwithſtanding the vigilancy and diſcretion of the magiſtrates, in applying remedies for this misfortune. A promiſe of the King's pardon was offered in a publick advertiſement, by the Secretary of State, and a reward of two hundred pounds by the city of London, to any perſon who ſhould diſcover the perpetrator of ſuch wicked outrage; but nevertheleſs he eſcaped detection. No individual, nor any ſociety of men, could have the leaſt intereſt in the execution of ſuch a ſcheme, except the body of London watermen; but as no diſcovery was made to the prejudice of any perſon belonging to that ſociety, the deed was imputed to the malice of ſome ſecret enemy to the publick. Even after a new temporary bridge was erected, another attempt was made (in all probability by the ſame incendiary) to reduce the whole to aſhes, but happily miſcarried, and a guard was appointed, to prevent any ſuch atrocious efforts in the ſequel. Dangerous tumults were raiſed in and about Mancheſter, by a prodigious number of manufacturers, who had left off working, and entered into a combination to raiſe, by force, the price of their labour. They had formed a regular plan, and collected large ſums for the maintenance of the poorer ſort, while they refuſed to work for their families. They inſulted and abuſed all thoſe who would not join in this defection; diſperſed incendiary letters, and denounced terrible threats againſt all ſuch as ſhould preſume to oppoſe their proceedings. But theſe menaces had no effect upon the magiſtrates and juſtices, who did their duty with ſuch diſcretion and courage, that the ringleaders being ſingled out, and puniſhed by law, the reſt were ſoon reduced to order.

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§ II. In the month of June Florence Henſey, an obſcure phyſician, and native of Ireland, who had been apprehended for treaſonable practices, was tried in the court of King's-Bench, on an indictment for high treaſon. In the courſe of the trial it appeared that he had been employed as a ſpy for the French miniſtry: to which, in conſideration of a paltry penſion, he ſent intelligence of every material occurrence in Great-Britain. The correſpondence was managed by his brother, a Jeſuit, who acted as chaplain and ſecretary to the Spaniſh Ambaſſador at the Hague. The Britiſh Reſident at that Court having learned from the Spaniſh miniſter ſome ſecrets relating to England, even before they were communicated to him from the Engliſh miniſtry, was induced to ſet on foot an enquiry touching the ſource of this information, and ſoon received an aſſurance, that the ſecretary of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador had a brother, a phyſician in London. The ſuſpicion naturally ariſing from this circumſtance being imparted to the miniſtry of England, Henſey was narrowly watched, and twenty-nine of his letters were intercepted. From the contents of theſe he was convicted of having given the French Court the firſt notice of the expedition to North-America, the capture of the two ſhips, the Alcide and Lys, the ſailing and deſtination of every ſquadron and armament, and the difficulties that occurred in raiſing money for the ſervice of the publick. He had even informed them, that the ſecret expedition of the foregoing year was intended againſt Rochefort, and adviſed a deſcent upon Great-Britain, at a certain time and place, as the moſt effectual method of diſtreſſing the government, and affecting the publick credit. After a long trial he was found guilty of treaſon, and received the ſentence of death uſually pronounced on ſuch occaſions: but whether he earned forgiveneſs by ſome material diſcovery, or the miniſter found

found him ſo inſenſible and inſignificant that he was aſhamed to take his life, he eſcaped execution, and was pardoned, on condition of going into perpetual exile. The ſeverity of the government was much about the ſame period exerciſed on Dr. Shebbeare, a publick writer, who, in a ſeries of printed letters to the people of England, had animadverted on the conduct of the miniſtry in the moſt acrimonious terms, ſtigmatiſed ſome great names with all the virulence of cenſure, and even aſſaulted the throne itſelf with oblique inſinuation and ironical ſatire. The miniſtry, incenſed at the boldneſs, and ſtill more enraged at the ſucceſs of this author, whoſe writings were bought with avidity by the publick, determined to puniſh him ſeverely for his arrogance and abuſe, and he was apprehended by a warrant from the ſecretary's office. His ſixth letter to the people of England was pitched upon as the foundation of a proſecution. After a ſhort trial in the court of King's-Bench, he was found guilty of having written the ſixth letter to the people of England, adjudged a libellous pamphlet, ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory, to pay a ſmall fine, to be impriſoned three years, and give ſecurity for his future good behaviour: ſo that, in effect, this good man ſuffered more for having given vent to the unguarded effuſions of miſtaken zeal, couched in the language of paſſion and ſcurrility, than was inflicted upon Henſey, a convicted traitor, who had acted as ſpy for France, and betrayed his own country for hire.

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§ III. Amidſt a variety of crimes and diſorders, ariſing from impetuoſity of temper, unreined paſſion, luxury, extravagance, and an almoſt total want of police and ſubordination, the virtues of benevolence are always ſpringing up to an extraordinary growth in the Britiſh ſoil; and here charities are often eſtabliſhed by the humanity of individuals, which in any other country would be honoured as national inſtitutions:

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institutions: witneſs the great number of hoſpitals and infirmaries in London and Weſtminſter, erected and maintained by voluntary contributions, or raiſed by the princely donations of private founders. In the courſe of this year the publick began to enjoy the benefit of ſeveral admirable inſtitutions. Mr Henry Raine, a private gentleman of Middleſex, had, in his life-time, built and endowed an hoſpital for the maintenance of forty poor maidens. By his will he bequeathed a certain ſum of money to accumulate at intereſt, under the management of truſtees, until the yearly produce ſhould amount to two hundred and ten pounds, to be given in marriage-portions to two of the maidens educated in his hoſpital, at the age of twenty-two, who ſhould be the beſt recommended for piety and induſtry by the maſters or miſtreſſes whom they had ſerved. In the month of March, the ſum deſtined for this laudable purpoſe was completed: when the truſtees, by publick advertiſement, ſummoned the maidens educated in the hoſpital to appear on a certain day, with proper certificates of their behaviour and circumſtances, that ſix of the moſt deſerving might be ſelected to draw lots for the prize of one hundred pounds, to be paid as her marriage portion, provided ſhe married a man of an unblemiſhed character, a member of the church of England, reſiding within certain ſpecified pariſhes, and approved by the truſtees. Accordingly, on the firſt of May the candidates appeared, and the prize being gained by one young woman, in preſence of a numerous aſſembly of all ranks, attracted by curioſity, the other five maidens, with a ſixth, added in lieu of her who had been ſucceſsful, were marked for a ſecond chance on the ſame day of the following year, when a ſecond prize of the ſame value would be preſented: thus a new candidate will be added every year, that every maiden who has been educated in this hoſpital, and preſerved her character without

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without reproach, may have a chance for the noble donation, which is alſo accompanied with the ſum of five pounds to defray the expence of the wedding entertainment. One ſcarce knows whether moſt to admire the plan, or commend the humanity of this excellent inſtitution. Of equal and perhaps ſuperior merit was another charitable eſtabliſhment, which alſo took effect about this period. A ſmall number of humane individuals, chiefly citizens of London, deeply affected with the ſituation of common proſtitutes, who are certainly the moſt forlorn of all human creatures, formed a generous reſolution in their favour, ſuch as even the beſt of men of the kingdom had never before the courage to avow. They conſidered that many of theſe unhappy creatures, ſo wretched in themſelves, and ſo productive of miſchief to ſociety, had been ſeduced to vice in their tender years by the perfidious artifice of the other ſex, or the violence of unruly paſſion, before they had acquired experience to guard againſt the one, or foreſight to perceive the fatal conſequences of the other: that the jewel, reputation, being thus irretrievably loſt, perhaps in one unguarded moment, they were covered with ſhame and diſgrace, abandoned by their families, excluded from all pity, regard, and aſſiſtance: that, ſtung by ſelf-conviction, inſulted with reproach, denied the privilege of penitence and contrition, cut off from all hope, impelled by indigence, and maddened with deſpair, they had plunged into a life of infamy, in which they were expoſed to deplorable viciſſitudes of miſery, and the moſt excrutiating pangs of reflexion that any human being could ſuſtain: that, whatever remorſe they might feel, howſoever they might deteſt their own vice, or long for an opportunity of amendment, they were entirely deſtitute of all means of reformation: they were not only deprived of all poſſibility of profiting by thoſe precious moments of repentance, and becoming again uſeful members of ſociety; but,

without

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in order to earn a miſerable ſubſiſtence, were obliged to perſevere in the paths of proſtitution, and act as the inſtruments of heaven's vengeance in propagating diſtemper and profligacy, in ruining the bodies and debauching the minds of their fellow-creatures. Moved to ſympathy and compaſſion by theſe conſiderations, this virtuous band of aſſociates determined to provide a comfortable aſylum for female penitents, to which they might fly for ſhelter from the receptacles of vice, the miſeries of life, and the ſcorn of mankind; where they might indulge the ſalutary ſentiments of remorſe, make their peace with heaven, accuſtom themſelves to induſtry and temperance, and be profitably re-united to ſociety, from which they had been ſo unhappily diſſevered. The plan of this excellent inſtitution being formed, was put in execution by means of voluntary ſubſcription, and the houſe opened in Goodman's fields, under the name of the Magdalen-hoſpital, in the month of Auguſt; when fifty petitions were preſented by penitent proſtitutes, ſoliciting admittance. Another aſylum was alſo opened by the hand of private charity, on the Surry-ſide of Weſtminſter-bridge, for the reception and education of female orphans, and children abandoned by their parents.

§ IV. Nor was encouragement refuſed to thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by extraordinary talents in any branch of the liberal and uſeful arts and ſciences, though no Mæcenas appeared among the miniſters, and not the leaſt ray of patronage glimmered from the throne. The protection, countenance, and gratification ſecured in other countries by the inſtitution of academies, and the liberalities of Princes, the ingenious in England derived from the generoſity of a publick, endued with taſte and ſenſibility, eager for improvement, and proud of patronizing extraordinary merit. Several years had already elapſed ſince a ſociety of private perſons was inſtituted at London, for the encouragement of arts, manufactures,

manufactures, and commerce. It conſiſted of a preſident, vice-preſident, ſecretary, regiſter, collector, and other officers, elected from a very conſiderable number of members, who pay a certain yearly contribution for the purpoſes of the inſtitution. In the courſe of every year they held eight general meetings in a large aſſembly-room, built and furniſhed at the common expence; beſides the ordinary meetings of the ſociety, held every week, from the ſecond Wedneſday in November to the laſt Wedneſday in May; and in the intermediate time, on the firſt and third Wedneſday of every month. At theſe ordinary meetings, provided the number then preſent exceeded ten, the members had a right to proceed on buſineſs, and power to appoint ſuch committees as they ſhould think neceſſary. The money contributed by this aſſociation, after the neceſſary expence of the ſociety had been deducted, was expended in premiums for planting and huſbandry; for diſcoveries and improvements in chemiſtry, dying, and mineralogy; for promoting the ingenious arts of drawing, engraving, caſting, painting, ſtatuary, and ſculpture; for the improvement of manufactures, and machines in the various articles of hats, crapes, druggets, mills, marbled-paper, ſhip-blocks, ſpinning-wheels, toys, yarn, knitting, and weaving. They likewiſe allotted ſums for the advantage of the Britiſh colonies in America, and beſtowed premiums on thoſe ſettlers who ſhould excel in curing cochineal, planting logwood-trees, cultivating olive-trees, producing myrtle-wax, making pot-aſh, preſerving raiſins, curing ſafflour, making ſilk and wines, importing ſturgeon, preparing iſinglaſs, planting hemp and cinnamon, extracting opium and the gum of the perſimon-tree, collecting ſtones of the mango, which ſhould be found to vegetate in the Weſt-Indies; raiſing ſilk-graſs, and laying out provincial gardens. They, moreover, allowed a gold medal, in honour of

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of him who ſhould compoſe the beſt treatiſe on the arts of peace, containing an hiſtorical account of the progreſſive improvements of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce in the kingdom of England, with the effects of thoſe improvements on the morals and manners of the people, and pointing out the moſt proper means for their future advancement. In a word, the ſociety is ſo numerous, the contributions ſo conſiderable, the plan ſo judiciouſly laid, and executed with ſuch diſcretion and ſpirit, as to promiſe much more effectual and extenſive advantage to the publick than ever accrued from all the boaſted academies of Chriſtendom. The artiſts of London had long maintained a private academy for improvement in the art of drawing from living figures; but, in order to extend this advantage, which was not attained without difficulty and expence, the Duke of Richmond, a young nobleman of the moſt amiable character, provided a large apartment at Whitehall, for the uſe of thoſe who ſtudied the art of painting, ſculpture, and engraving; and furniſhed it with a collection of original plaiſter caſts from the beſt antique ſtatues and buſts at Rome and Florence. Here any learner had liberty to draw, or make models, under the eye and inſtructions of two eminent artiſts; and twice a year the munificent founder beſtowed premiums of ſilver medals on the four pupils who excelled the reſt in drawing from a certain figure, and making the beſt model of it in baſſo-relievo *. § V.

* Among other tranſactions that diſtinguiſh the hiſtory of Great-Britain, ſcarce a year glides away without producing ſome incident that ſtrongly marks the ſingular character of the Engliſh nation. A very extraordinary inſtance of this nature, relating to the late Duke of Marlborough, we ſhall record among the events of this year, although it derived its origin from the latter end of the laſt, and cannot be properly enumerated among thoſe occurrences that appertain to general hiſtory. Towards the end of November, in the preceding year, the above-mentioned nobleman received, by the poſt, a letter directed "To his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, with care and ſpeed," and containing this addreſs:

"MY LORD,

"As ceremony is an idle thing upon moſt occaſions, more eſpecially to perſons in my ſtate of mind, I ſhall proceed immediately to acquaint

§ V. On the twenty-third day of November both Houſes of Parliament met at Weſtminſter, when his Majeſty

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acquaint you with the motive and end of addreſſing this epiſtle to you, which is equally intereſting to us both. You are to know then, that my preſent ſituation in life is ſuch, that I ſhould prefer annihilation to a continuance in it. Deſperate diſeaſes require deſperate remedies; and you are the man I have pitched upon, either to make me or unmake yourſelf. As I never had the honour to live among the great, the tenour of my propoſals will not be very courtly; but let that be an argument to enforce a belief of what I am now going to write. It has employed my invention for ſome time to find out a method of deſtroying another without expoſing my own life: that I have accompliſhed, and defy the law. Now, for the application of it. I am deſperate, and muſt be provided for. You have it in your power; it is my buſineſs to make it your inclination to ſerve me, which you muſt determine to comply with, by procuring me a genteel ſupport for my life, or your own will be at a period, before this ſeſſion of Parliament is over. I have more motives than one for ſingling you out upon this occaſion; and I give you this fair warning, becauſe the means I ſhall make uſe of are too fatal to be eluded by the power of phyſick. If you think this of any conſequence, you will not fail to meet the author on Sunday next, at ten in the morning, or on Monday (if the weather ſhould be rainy on Sunday) near the firſt tree beyond the ſtyle in Hyde-Park, in the footwalk to Kenſington. Secreſy and compliance may preſerve you from a double danger of this ſort, as there is a certain part of the world where your death has more than been wiſhed for upon other motives. I know the world too well to truſt this ſecret in any breaſt but my own. A few days determine me your friend or enemy.

"FELTON.

"You will apprehend that I mean you ſhould be alone; and depend upon it, that a diſcovery of any artifice in this affair will be fatal to you. My ſafety is inſured by my ſilence, for confeſſion only can condemn me."

The Duke, in compliance with this ſtrange remonſtrance, appeared at the time and place appointed, on horſeback and alone, with piſtols before him, and the ſtar of his order diſplayed, that he might be the more eaſily known. He had likewiſe taken the precaution of engaging a friend to attend in the Park, at ſuch a diſtance, however, as ſcarce to be obſervable. He continued ſome time on the ſpot without ſeeing any perſon he could ſuſpect of having wrote the letter, and then rode away: but chancing to turn his head when he reached Hyde-Park corner, he perceived a man ſtanding at the bridge, and looking at the water, within twenty yards of the tree which was deſcribed in the letter. He forthwith rode back at a gentle pace, and paſſing by the perſon expected to be addreſſed; but as no advance of this kind was made, he, in repaſſing, bowed to the ſtranger, and aſked if he had not ſomething to communicate? The man replying, "No, I don't know you;" the Duke told him his name, adding, "Now you know me, I imagine you have ſomething to ſay to me." But he ſtill anſwered in the negative, and the Duke rode home. In a day or two after this tranſaction, another letter was brought to him, couched in the following terms:

"MY LORD,

"YOU receive this as an acknowledgment of your punctuality as to the time and place of meeting on Sunday laſt, though it was owing

to

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to you it answered no purpose. The pageantry of being armed, and the ensign of your order were useless, and too conspicuous. You needed no attendant, the place was not calculated for mischief, nor was any intended. If you walk in the west aisle of Westminster-Abbey, towards eleven o'clock on Sunday next, your sagacity will point out the person whom you will address, by asking his company to take a turn or two with you. You will not fail, on enquiry, to be acquainted with the name and place of abode. According to which direction you will please to send two or three hundred pound bank-notes the next day by the penny-post. Exert not your curiosity too early: it is in your power to make me grateful on certain terms. I have friends who are faithful, but they do not bark before they bite.

"I am, &c. F."

The Duke, determining, if possible, to unveil this mystery, repaired to the Abbey at the time prescribed; and, after having walked up and down for five or six minutes, saw the very same person to whom he had spoke in Hyde-Park enter the Abbey, with another man of a creditable appearance. This last, after they had viewed some of the monuments, went into the choir, and the other turning back advanced towards the duke, who accosting him, asked him if he had any thing to say to him, or any commands for him? He replied, "No, my lord, I have not."—"Sure you have," said the Duke; but he persisted in his denial. Then the duke leaving him, took several turns in the aisle, while the stranger walked on the other side. But nothing further passed between them; and although the duke had provided several persons in disguise to apprehend the delinquent, he forebore giving the signal, that notwithstanding appearances, he might run no risque of injuring an innocent person. Not long after this second disappointment he received a third letter, to the following effect:

"My Lord,

"I AM fully convinced you had a companion on Sunday: I interpret it as owing to the weakness of human nature; but such proceeding is far from being ingenuous, and may produce bad effects, whilst it is impossible to answer the end proposed. You will see me again soon, as it were by accident, and may easily find where I go to; in consequence of which, by being sent to, I shall wait on your Grace, but expect to be quite alone, and to converse in whispers; you will likewise give your honour, upon meeting, that no part of the conversation shall transpire. These and the former terms complied with ensure your safety; my revenge, in case of non-compliance (or any scheme to expose me) will be slower, but not less sure; and strong suspicion the utmost that can possible ensue upon it, while the chances would be ten-fold against you. You will possibly be in doubt after the meeting, but it is quite necessary the outside should be a mask to the in. The family of the Bloods is not extinct, though they are not in my scheme."

The expression, "you will see me again soon, as it were by accident," plainly pointed at the person to whom he had spoke in the Park and in the Abbey; nevertheless, he saw him not again, nor did he hear

of

to this effect. He told them, his Majeſty had directed the Lords of the Commiſſion to aſſure his Par- CHAP. X. 1758.

hear any thing further of the affair for two months, at the expiration of which the poſt brought him the following letter:

"May it pleaſe your Grace,

"I have reaſon to believe that the ſon of one Barnard, a ſurveyor, in Abingdon-buildings, Weſtminſter, is acquainted with ſome ſecrets that nearly concern your ſafety: his father is now out of town, which will give you an opportunity of queſtioning him more privately; it would be uſeleſs to your Grace, as well as dangerous to me, to appear more publickly in this affair,

"Your ſincere friend,

"ANONYMOUS.

"He frequently goes to Storey's-Gate coffee-houſe."

In about a week after this intimation was received, the Duke ſent a perſon to the coffee-houſe, to enquire for Mr. Barnard, and tell him he would be glad to ſpeak to him. The meſſage was delivered, and Barnard declared he would wait upon his Grace next Thurſday, at half an hour after ten in the morning. He was punctual to his appointment, and no ſooner appeared than the Duke recognized him to be the perſon to whom he had ſpoke in the Park and the Abbey. Having conducted him into an apartment, and ſhut the door, he aſked, as before, if he had any thing to communicate: and was anſwered as formerly, in the negative. Then the Duke repeated every circumſtance of this ſtrange tranſaction; to which Barnard liſtened with attention and ſurpriſe, yet without exhibiting any marks of conſcious guilt or confuſion. The Duke obſerving that it was matter of aſtoniſhment to ſee letters of ſuch import written with the correctneſs of a ſcholar, the other replied, that a man might be very poor and very learned at the ſame time. When he ſaw the fourth letter, in which his name was mentioned, with the circumſtance of his father's abſence, he ſaid, "It is very odd, my father was then out of town." An expreſſion the more remarkable, as the letter was without date, and he could not as an innocent man, be ſuppoſed to know at what time it was written. The Duke having made him acquainted with the particulars, told him that if he was innocent he ought to uſe his endeavours to detect the writer of the letters, eſpecially of the laſt, in which he was expreſsly named. To this admonition he returned no other anſwer but a ſmile, and then withdrew.—He was afterwards taken into cuſtody, and tried at the Old-Bailey, for ſending a threatening letter, contrary to the ſtatute; but no evidence could be found to prove the letters were of his handwriting: nor did any preſumption appear againſt him, except his being in Hyde-Park, and in Weſtminſter-Abbey, at the time and place appointed in the firſt two letters. On the other hand, Mr. Barnard proved, that on the Sunday, when he ſaw the Duke in Hyde-Park, he was on his way to Kenſington, on particular buſineſs, by his father's order, ſignified to him that very morning: that he accordingly went thither, and dined with his uncle, in company with ſeveral other perſons, to whom he related what had paſſed between the Duke of Marlborough and him in the park: that his being afterwards in Weſtminſter-Abbey was the effect of mere accident; that Mr. James Greenwood, his kinſman, who had lain that preceding night at his father's Houſe, deſired him to dreſs himſelf, that they

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Parliament that he always received the higheſt ſatiſfaction in being able to lay before them any event that might promote the honour and intereſt of his kingdoms; that in conſequence of their advice, and enabled by the aſſiſtance which they unanimouſly gave, his Majeſty had exerted his endeavours to carry on the war in the moſt vigorous manner, in order to attain that deſirable end, always to be wiſhed, a ſafe and honourable peace *: that it had pleaſed the Divine Providence to bleſs his meaſures

might walk together in the Park; and he did not comply with his requeſt till after much ſolicitation: that he propoſed to enter the Park without paſſing through the Abbey, but was prevailed upon by Mr. Greenwood, who expreſſed a deſire of ſeeing the newly-erected monument of General Hargrave; that as he had formerly communicated to his friend the ſtrange circumſtance of the Duke's ſpeaking to him in Hyde-Park, Mr. Greenwood no ſooner ſaw that nobleman in the Abbey, than he gave notice to Mr. Barnard, who was very ſhort-ſighted; and that from his paſſing them ſeveral times, concluded he wanted to ſpeak with Mr. Barnard alone, he quitted him, and retired into the choir, that they might commune together without interruption. It likewiſe appeared, from undoubted evidence, that Barnard had often mentioned openly to his friends and acquaintance, the circumſtance of what paſſed between him and the Duke in the Park and in the Abbey; that his father was a man of unblemiſhed reputation, and in affluent circumſtances; that he himſelf was never reduced to any want, or ſuch exigence as might impel him to any deſperate methods of obtaining money; that his fidelity had been often tried, and his life always irreproachable. For theſe reaſons he was acquitted of the crime laid to his charge, and the myſtery remains to this day undiſcovered.

After all, the author of the letters does not ſeem to have had any real deſign to extort money, becauſe the ſcheme was very ill calculated for that purpoſe, and indeed could not poſſibly take effect without the moſt imminent riſk of detection. Perhaps his aim was nothing more than to gratify a petulance and peculiarity of humour, by alarming the Duke, exciting the curioſity of the publick, puzzling the multitude, and giving riſe to a thouſand ridiculous conjectures. If any thing more was intended, and the Duke earneſtly deſired to know the extent of the ſcheme, he might, when he cloſetted the perſon ſuſpected, have encouraged him to a declaration, by promiſing inviolable ſecreſy on his word and honour, in which any man would have confided as a ſacred obligation. On the whole, it is ſurpriſing that the death of the Duke, which happened in the courſe of this year, was never attributed to the ſecret practices of this incendiary correſpondent, who had given him to underſtand, that his vengeance, though ſlow, would not be the leſs certain.

* In the month of Auguſt, the King, in quality of Elector of Hanover, having occaſion for two hundred thouſand pounds, a loan by ſubſcription for that ſum was opened at the Bank, and filled immediately by ſeven or eight money dealers of London.

and

and arms with ſucceſs in ſeveral parts, and to make the enemies of the nation feel, that the ſtrength of Great-Britain is not to be provoked with impunity: that the conqueſt of the ſtrong fortreſs of Louiſbourgh, with the iſlands of Cape-Breton and St. John; the demolition of Frontenac, of the higheſt importance to his operations in America, and the reduction of Senegal, could not fail to bring great diſtreſs on the French commerce and colonies, and, in proportion, to procure great advantage to thoſe of Great-Britain. He obſerved, that France had alſo been made ſenſible, that whilſt her forces are ſent forth to invade and ravage the dominions of her neighbours, her own coaſts are not inacceſſible to his Majeſty's fleets and armies: a truth which ſhe had experienced in the demolition of the works at Cherbourg, erected at a great expence, with a particular view to annoy England, as well as in the loſs of a great number of ſhips and veſſels; but no treatment, however injurious to his Majeſty, could tempt him to make retaliation on the innocent ſubjects of that crown. He told them, that in Germany his Majeſty's good brother the King of Pruſſia, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, had found full employment for the enemies of France and her confederates, from which the Engliſh operations, both by ſea and in America, had derived the moſt evident advantage: their ſucceſſes, owing, under God, to their able conduct, and the bravery of his Majeſty's troops, and thoſe of his Allies, having been ſignal and glorious. The King, moreover, commanded them to declare, that the common cauſe of liberty and independency was ſtill making noble and glorious efforts againſt the unnatural union formed to oppreſs it: that the commerce of his ſubjects, the ſource of national riches, had, by the vigilant protection received from his Majeſty's fleet, flouriſhed in a manner not to be paralleled during ſuch troubles: In this

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BOOK III. 1758. ſtate of things, he ſaid, the King in his wiſdom, thought it unneceſſary to uſe many words to perſuade them to bear up againſt all difficulties, effectually to ſtand by, and defend his Majeſty, vigorouſly to ſupport the King of Pruſſia, and the reſt of his Majeſty's Allies, and to exert themſelves to reduce their enemies to equitable terms of accommodation. He obſerved to the Houſe of Commons, that the uncommon extent of this war, in different parts, occaſioned it to be uncommonly expenſive: that the King had ordered them to declare to the Commons, that he ſincerely lamented, and deeply felt, for the burthens of his people: that the ſeveral eſtimates were ordered to be laid before them: and that he deſired only ſuch ſupplies as ſhould be requiſite to puſh the war with advantage, and be adequate to the neceſſary ſervices. In the laſt place, he aſſured them the King took ſo much ſatisfaction in that good harmony which ſubſiſted among his faithful ſubjects, that it was more proper for him now to thank them for it, than to repeat his exhortation to it: that this union, neceſſary at all times, was more eſpecially ſo in ſuch critical conjunctures; and his Majeſty doubted not but the good effects the nation had found from it would be the ſtrongeſt motives to them to purſue it.—The reader will, no doubt, be ſurpriſed to find this harangue abound with harſhneſs of period and inelegancy of expreſſion: he will wonder that, in particulariſing the ſucceſſes of the year in America, no mention is made of the reduction of Fort Du-Queſne on the river Ohio; a place of great importance, both from its ſtrength and ſituation, the erection of which had been one great motive to the war between the two nations: but he will be ſtill more ſurpriſed to hear it declared from the throne, that the operations, both by ſea and in America, had derived the moſt evident advantage from the war in Germany. An aſſertion the more extra-

extraordinary, as the Britiſh miniſtry, in their anſwer to the Parallel, which we have already mentioned, had expreſsly affirmed, that "none but ſuch as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England can believe, that without a diverſion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy's force, ſhe is not in a condition to hope for ſucceſs and maintain her ſuperiority at ſea. That they muſt be very ignorant, indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to reſiſt thoſe of France unleſs the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the ſea." It is very remarkable that the Britiſh miniſtry ſhould declare that the war in Germany was favourable to the Engliſh operation by ſea and in America, and almoſt in the ſame breath accuſe the French King of having fomented that war. Let us ſuppoſe that France had no war to maintain in Europe; and aſk in what manner ſhe, in that caſe, would have oppoſed the progreſs of the Britiſh arms by ſea, and in America? Her navy was reduced to ſuch a condition that it durſt not quit her harbours; her merchant ſhips were all taken, her mariners confined in England, and the ſea was covered with Britiſh cruiſers: in theſe circumſtances, what expedients could ſhe have contrived for ſending ſupplies and reinforcements to America, or for oppoſing the naval armaments of Great-Britain in any other part of the world?—None. Without ſhips and mariners, her troops, ammunition, and ſtores were in this reſpect, as uſeleſs as money to a man ſhip-wrecked on a deſolate iſland. But granting that the war in Germany had, in ſome meaſure, diverted the attention of the French miniſtry from the proſecution of their operations in America, (and this is granting more than ought to be allowed,) the queſtion is not, whether the hoſtilities upon the continent of Europe prevented France from ſend-

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ing in a great number of troops to Canada; but whether the war in Germany was either neceſſary or expedient for diſtreſſing the French more effectually in other parts of the world? Surely every intelligent man of candour muſt anſwer in the negative. The expence incurred by England for ſubſidies and armies in the empire, exceeded three million ſterling annually; and this enormous expence, without being able to protect Hanover, only ſerved to keep the war alive in different parts of Germany. Had one half of this ſum been employed in augmenting and extending the naval armaments of Great-Britain, and in reinforcing her troops in America, and the Weſt-Indies, France would have been, at this day, deprived of all her ſugar colonies, as well as of her ſettlements on the continent of America; and being abſolutely cut off from theſe ſources of wealth, would have found it impracticable either to gratify her ſubſidiaries, or to maintain ſuch formidable armies to annoy her neighbours. Theſe are truths, which will appear to the conviction of the publick, when the illuſive ſpells of unſubſtantial victory are diſſolved, and time ſhall have diſperſed the thick miſts of prejudice which now ſeem to darken and perplex the underſtanding of the people.

§ VI. The conduct of the Adminiſtration was ſo agreeable to both Houſes of Parliament, that in their addreſs to the throne they expreſſed their unſhaken zeal and loyalty to his Majeſty's perſon, congratulated him on the ſucceſs of his arms, and promiſed to ſupport his meaſures and allies with ſteadineſs and alacrity *. It was probably in conſequence of this aſſurance

* That the charge of diſaffection to the King's perſon, which was ſo loudly trumpeted by former miniſters and their adherents againſt thoſe who had honeſty and courage to oppoſe the meaſures of a weak and corrupt adminiſtration, was entirely falſe and without foundation, appeared at this juncture, when in the midſt of a cruel, oppreſſive, and continental war, maintained by the blood and treaſure of Great-Britain

aſſurance that a new treaty between Great-Britain and Pruſſia was concluded at London on the ſeventh day of December, importing, That as the burthenſome war, in which the King of Pruſſia is engaged, lays him under the neceſſity of making freſh efforts to defend himſelf againſt the multitude of enemies who attack his dominions, he is obliged to take new meaſures with the King of England, for their reciprocal defence and ſafety; and his Britannick Majeſty hath at the ſame time ſignifyed his earneſt deſire to ſtrengthen the friendſhip ſubſiſting between the two Courts, and in conſequence thereof, to conclude a formal convention, for granting to his Pruſſian Majeſty ſpeedy and powerful aſſiſtance, their Majeſties have nominated and authoriſed their miniſters to concert and ſettle the following articles:— All formal treaties between the two Crowns, particularly that ſigned at Weſtminſter on the 16th day of January in the year 1756, and the convention of the 11th of April in the year 1758, are confirmed by the preſent convention of the 11th of April in the year 1758, in their whole tenor, as if they were herein inſerted word for word. The King of Great-Britain ſhall cauſe to be paid at London, to ſuch perſon or perſons as ſhall be authoriſed by the King of Pruſſia for that end, the ſum of four millions of rix-dollars, making ſix hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds ſterling, at one payment, immediately on the exchange of the ratification, if the King of Pruſſia ſhall ſo require. His Pruſſian Majeſty ſhall employ the ſaid ſum in ſupporting and augmenting his forces, which ſhall act in ſuch manner as ſhall be

tain, all oppoſition ceaſed in both Houſes of Parliament. The addreſſes of thanks to his Majeſty, which are always dictated by the immediate ſervants of the Crown, were unanimouſly adopted in both Houſes, and not only couched in terms of applauſe, but even inflated with expreſſions of rapture and admiration. They declared themſelves ſenſible, that the operations of Great-Britain both by ſea and in America, had received the moſt evident and important advantages from the maintenance of the war in Germany, and ſeemed eager to eſpouſe any meaſure that might gratify the inclination of the Sovereign.

BOOK III. 1758. of the greateſt ſervice to the common cauſe, and contribute moſt to the mutual defence and ſafety of their ſaid Majeſties. The King of Great-Britain, both as King and Elector, and the King of Pruſſia, reciprocally bind them not to conclude with the Powers that have taken part in the preſent war any treaty of peace, truce, or other ſuch like convention, but by common advice and conſent, each expreſsly including therein the other. The ratification of the preſent convention ſhall be exchanged within ſix weeks, or ſooner, if poſſible. In effect, this treaty was no other than a renewal of the ſubſidy from year to year, becauſe it was not thought proper to ſtipulate in the firſt ſubſidiary convention an annual ſupply of ſuch importance until the war ſhould be terminated, leſt the people of England ſhould be alarmed at the proſpect of ſuch ſucceſſive burthens, and the complaiſance of the Commons be in ſome future ſeſſion exhauſted. On the whole, this was perhaps the moſt extraordinary treaty that ever was concluded; for it contains no ſpecification of articles, except the payment of the ſubſidy: every other article was left to the interpretation of his Pruſſian Majeſty.

An. 1759. § VII. The Parliament, having performed the ceremony of addreſſes to the throne, immediately proceeded to the great work of the ſupply. The two committees in the Houſe of Commons were immediately eſtabliſhed, and continued by adjournments to the month of May, by the twenty-third day of which all their reſolutions were taken. They voted ſixty thouſand men, including fourteen thouſand eight hundred and forty-five marines, for the ſervice of the enſuing year; and for the operations by land, a body of troops amounting to fifty-two thouſand five hundred and fifty-three effective men, beſides the auxiliaries of Hanover, Heſſe, Brunſwick, Saxe-Gotha, and Buckebourg, to the number of fifty thouſand, and five battalions on the Iriſh eſtabliſh-

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eſtabliſhment in actual ſervice in America and Africa. For the maintenance of the ſixty thouſand men employed in the ſea-ſervice, they granted three millions one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds; for the land forces, one million two hundred fifty-ſix thouſand one hundred and thirty pounds, fifteen ſhillings, and two-pence; for the charge of the additional five battalions, forty thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-nine pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and nine-pence; for the pay of the general and ſtaff-officers, and hoſpitals of the land-forces, fifty-two thouſand four hundred and eighty-four pounds, one ſhilling, and eight-pence; for maintaining the garriſons in the Plantations, Gibraltar, Nova-Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape-Breton, and Senegal, the ſum of ſeven hundred and forty-two thouſand five hundred and thirty-one pounds, five ſhillings, and ſeven-pence; for the charge of ordnance for land-ſervice, two hundred and twenty thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine pounds, eleven ſhillings, and nine-pence; for extraordinary ſervice performed by the ſame office, and not provided for by Parliament in the courſe of the preceding year, three hundred twenty-three thouſand nine hundred and eighty-ſeven pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and three-pence; for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to ſea-officers, two hundred and thirty-eight thouſand four hundred and ninety-one pounds, nine ſhillings, and eight-pence; towards the ſupport of Greenwich-hoſpital, and for the out-penſioners of Chelſea-college, the ſum of thirty-ſix thouſand pounds. They allotted for one year's expence, incurred by the foreign troops in the pay of Great-Britain, one million two hundred thirty-eight thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven pounds, nineteen ſhillings, and ten-pence, over and above ſixty thouſand pounds for enabling his Majeſty to fulfil his engagements with the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, purſuant to the ſepa-

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rate article of a new treaty concluded between them in the month of January of this current year, ſtipulating, that this ſum ſhould be paid to his Serene Highneſs in order to facilitate the means by which he might again fix his reſidence in his own dominions, and by his preſence give freſh courage to his faithful ſubjects. Eighty thouſand pounds were granted for enabling his Majeſty to diſcharge the like ſum raiſed in purſuance of an act paſſed in the preceding ſeſſion, and charged upon the firſt aids or ſupplies to be granted in this ſeſſion of Parliament. The ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds was voted towards the building and repairing ſhips of war for the enſuing year. Fifteen thouſand pounds were allowed for improving London bridge; and forty thouſand on account for the Foundling-hoſpital. For the charge of tranſports to be employed in the courſe of the year they aſſigned ſix hundred ſixty-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-one pounds, nineteen ſhillings, and ſeven-pence: for maintaining the colonies of Nova-Scotia and Georgia they beſtowed twenty-five thouſand two hundred and thirty-eight pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and five-pence. To replace ſums taken from the ſinking fund, thirty-three thouſand two hundred and fifty-two pounds, eighteen ſhillings, and ten-pence half-penny; for maintaining the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, ten thouſand pounds, and for paying off the mortgage on an eſtate deviſed for the endowment of a profeſſorſhip in the univerſity of Cambridge, the ſum of twelve hundred and eighty pounds. For the expence of the militia they voted ninety thouſand pounds: for extraordinary expences relating to the land forces, incurred in the courſe of laſt year, and unprovided for by Parliament, the ſum of four hundred fifty-ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-five pounds, ten ſhillings, and five-pence three farthings. For the purchaſe of certain lands and hereditaments, in order to ſecure

the King's docks at Portſmouth, Chatham, and Plymouth, they granted thirty-ſix thouſand nine hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds, two ſhillings, and tenpence. They voted two hundred thouſand pounds for enabling his Majeſty to give proper compenſation to the reſpective provinces in North-America, for the expences that had been incurred in levying and maintaining troops for the ſervice of the publick. They granted twenty thouſand pounds to the East-India Company, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their ſettlements: and the ſame ſum was granted for carrying on the fortification to ſecure the harbour of Milford. To make good ſeveral ſums iſſued by his Majeſty, for indemnifying the inn-holders and victuallers of Hampſhire for the expences they had incurred in quartering the Heſſian auxiliaries in England; for an addition to the ſalaries of Judges, and other leſs conſiderable purpoſes, they allowed the ſum of twenty-ſix thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-eight pounds, ſixteen ſhillings, and ſix-pence. Finally, they voted one million, upon account, for enabling the King to defray any extraordinary expence of the war, incurred or to be incurred, for the ſervice of the current year; and to take all ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary to diſappoint or defeat any enterpriſes or deſigns of his enemies as the exigency of affairs ſhould require. The ſum of all the grants voted by the committee of ſupply amounted to twelve millions ſeven hundred ſixty-one thouſand three hundred and ten pounds, nineteen ſhillings, and five-pence.

§ VIII. The Commons were ſtill employed in deliberations on ways and means on the twenty-ſecond day of May, when Mr. Secretary Pitt communicated to them a meſſage from the King, couched in theſe terms: his Majeſty, relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, and conſidering that, in this critical conjuncture,

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conjuncture, emergencies may ariſe, which may be of the utmoſt importance and be attended with the moſt pernicious conſequences, if proper means ſhould not immediately be applied to prevent or defeat them, is deſirous that this Houſe will enable him to defray any extraordinary expences of the war incurred or to be incurred, for the ſervice of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-nine, and to take all ſuch meaſures as may be neceſſary to diſappoint or defeat any enterpriſes or deſigns of his enemies, and as the exigencies of affairs may require. This meſſage being read, a motion was made, and agreed to *nem. con.* that it ſhould be referred to the committee, who forthwith formed upon it the reſolution, whereby one million was granted, to be raiſed by loans or Exchequer-bills, chargeable on the firſt aids that ſhould be given in the next ſeſſion. This produced a bill enabling his Majeſty to raiſe the ſum of one million, for the uſes and purpoſes therein mentioned, comprehending a clauſe, allowing the Bank of England to advance on the credit of the loan therein mentioned any ſum not exceeding a million, notwithſtanding the act of the fifth and ſixth year in the reign of William and Mary, by which the Bank was eſtabliſhed.

§ IX. The bills relating ſolely to the ſupply being diſcuſſed and expedited, the Houſe proceeded, as uſual, to enact other laws for the advantage of the community. Petitions having been preſented by the cities of Briſtol and New-Sarum, alledging, that ſince the laws prohibiting the making of low wines and ſpirits from grain, meal, and flour had been in force, the commonalty appeared more ſober, healthy, and induſtrious: repreſenting the ill conſequences which they apprehended would attend the repeal of theſe laws, and therefore praying their continuance: a committee of the whole Houſe reſolved that the prohibition to export corn ſhould be continued

tinued to the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-nine; ſubject nevertheleſs to ſuch proviſions for ſhortening the ſaid term of its continuance as ſhould therefore be made by an act of that ſeſſion, or by his Majeſty with the advice of his Privy-council during the receſs of Parliament; that the act for diſcontinuing the duties upon corn and flour imported, or brought in as prize, was not proper to be further continued: and that the prohibition to make low wines or ſpirits from any ſort of grain, meal, or flour, ſhould be continued to the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-nine. Before the bill was formed on theſe reſolutions, petitions arrived from Liverpool and Bath, to the ſame purport as thoſe of Briſtol and Sarum; while on the other hand, a remonſtrance was preſented by a great number of the malt-diſtillers of the city and ſuburbs of London, alledging, that it having been deemed expedient to prohibit the diſtilling of ſpirits from any ſort of grain to the twenty-fourth day of December then inſtant, ſome of the petitioners had entirely ceaſed to carry on the buſineſs of diſtilling, while others, merely with a view to preſerve their cuſtomers, the compound diſtillers, and employ ſome of their ſervants, horſes, and utenſils, had ſubmitted to carry on the diſtillation of ſpirits from melaſſes and ſugars under great diſadvantages, in full hope that the reſtraint would ceaſe at the expiration of the limited time or at leaſt when the neceſſity which occaſioned that reſtraint ſhould be removed; that it was with great concern they obſerved a bill would be brought in for protracting the ſaid prohibition, at a time when the price of all manner of grain, and particularly of wheat and barley was conſiderably reduced, and, as they humbly conceived, at a reaſonable medium. They expatiated

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tiated on the great loſs they, as well as many traders and artificers, dependents upon them, muſt ſuſtain in caſe the ſaid bill ſhould be paſſed into a law. They prayed the Houſe to take theſe circumſtances into conſideration, and either permit them to carry on the diſtillation from wheat, malt, and other grain, under ſuch reſtrictions as ſhould be judged neceſſary; or to grant them ſuch other relief, in reſpect of their ſeveral loſſes and incumbrances, as to the Houſe ſhall ſeem reaſonable and expedient. This petition, though ſtrenuouſly urged by a powerful and clamourous body without doors, did not meet great encouragement within. It was ordered to lie upon the table and an inſtruction was given to the committee, empowering them to receive a clauſe or clauſes to allow the tranſportations of certain quantities of meal, flour, bread, and biſcuit to the iſland of Guernſey and Jerſey for the ſole uſe of the inhabitants; and another to prohibit the making of low wines and ſpirits from bran. Much more attention was paid to a petition of ſeveral farmers in the county of Norfolk, repreſenting, that their farms conſiſted chiefly of arable land which produced much greater quantities of corn than could be conſumed within that county; that in the laſt harveſt there was a great and plentiful crop of all ſorts of grain, the greateſt part of which had by unfavourable weather been rendered unfit for ſale at London, or other markets for home conſumption; that large quantities of malt were then lying at London, ariſing chiefly from the crops of barley growing in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-ſeven, the ſale of which was ſtagnated; that the petitioners being informed the Houſe had ordered in a bill to continue the prohibition of corn exported, they begged leave to obſerve, that, ſhould it paſs into a law, it would be extremely prejudicial to all, and ruin many farmers of that county,

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as they had offered their corn for ſale at divers ports and markets of the ſaid county; but the merchants refuſed to buy it at any place, alledging its being unfit for the London market: the great quantity of corn with which that market was already overſtocked, and their not being allowed either to export it or make it into malt for exportation, they therefore prayed this prohibition might be removed, or they the petitioners indulged with ſome other kind of relief. Although this remonſtrance was duly conſidered, the bill paſſed with the amendments becauſe of the proviſo, by which his Majeſty in council was empowered to ſhorten the date of the prohibition with reſpect to the exportation of corn during the receſs of Parliament: but the temporary reſtraint laid upon diſtillation was made abſolute, without any ſuch condition, to the no ſmall diſappointment and mortification of the diſtillers, who had ſpared no pains and expence by private ſolicitation, and ſtrenuous diſpute in the publick papers, to recommend their cauſe to the favour of the community. They urged that malt-ſpirits, when uſed in moderation, far from being prejudicial to the health of individuals, were in many damp and marſhy parts of the kingdom abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving the field-labourers from agues and other diſtempers produced by the cold and moiſture of the climate; that if they were debarred the uſe of malt-ſpirits they would have recourſe to French brandy, with which, as they generally reſide near the ſea coaſt, the ſmugglers would provide them almoſt as cheap as the malt-ſpirits could be afforded: thus the increaſed conſumption of French ſpirit would drain the nation of ready money to a conſiderable amount, and prejudice the King's revenue in the ſame proportion. They obſerved, that many diſtillers had already quitted that branch of trade and diſpoſed of their materials; that

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damaged commodity. They aſſerted, that malt-ſpirits were abſolutely neceſſary for proſecuting ſome branches of foreign commerce, particularly the trade to the coaſt of Africa, for which traffick no aſſortment could be made up without a large quantity of geneva, of which the natives are ſo fond, that they will not traffick with any merchants who has not a conſiderable quantity, not only for ſale, but alſo for preſents to their chiefs and rulers: that the merchants of Great-Britain, muſt either have this commodity of their own produce, or import it at a great national expence from Holland: that the charge of this importation, together with the duties payable upon it, ſome part of which is not to be drawn back on exportation, will render it impoſſible for the traders to ſell it ſo cheap on the coaſt of Africa as it might be ſold by the Dutch, who are the great rivals of Great-Britain in this branch of commerce. To theſe arguments, all of which were plauſible, and ſome of them unanſwerable, it was replied, that malt-ſpirits might be conſidered as a fatal and bewitching poiſon, which had actually debauched the minds, and enervated the bodies of the common people to a very deplorable degree; that, without entering further into a compariſon between the uſe and abuſe of the two liquors, beer and geneva, it would be ſufficient to obſerve, that the uſe of beer and ale had produced none of thoſe dreadful effects which were the conſequences of drinking geneva; and ſince the prohibition of the diſtillery of malt-ſpirits had taken place, the common people were become apparently more ſober, decent, healthy, and induſtrious: a circumſtance ſufficient to induce the legiſlature not only to intermit, but even totally to aboliſh the practice of diſtillation, which has ever been productive of ſuch intoxication, riot, diſorder, and diſtemper, among the lower claſs of the people, as might be deemed the greateſt evils incident to a well-regulated commonwealth. Their aſſertion,

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with reſpect to the coarſe kind of barley, called big, was contradicted as a deviation from truth, inaſmuch as it was uſed in making malt, as well as in making bread: and with reſpect to damaged corn, thoſe who underſtood the nature of grain affirmed, that it was ſpoiled to ſuch a degree as to be altogether unfit for either of theſe purpoſes, the diſtillers would not purchaſe it at ſuch a price as would indemnify the farmer for the charge of threſhing and carriage; for the diſtillers are very ſenſible, that their great profit is derived from their diſtilling the malt made from the beſt barley, ſo that the increaſe of the produce far exceeded in proportion the advance of the price. It was, not, however, an eaſy matter to prove that the diſtillation of malt-ſpirits was not neceſſary to an advantageous proſecution of the commerce on the coaſt of Guinea, as well as among the Indians in ſome parts of North-America. Certain it is, that in theſe branches of traffick, the want of geneva may be ſupplied by ſpirits diſtilled from ſugars and melaſſes. After all, it muſt be owned, that the good and ſalutary effects of the prohibition were viſible in every part of the kingdom, and no evil conſeqnence enſued, except a diminution of the revenue in this article: a conſideration which, at all times, ought to be ſacrificed to the health and morals of the people: nor will this conſideration be found of any great weight, when we reflect that the leſs the malt-ſpirit is drunk, the greater quantity of beer and ale will be conſumed, and the produce of the duties and exciſe upon the brewery be augmented accordingly.

§ X. In the mean time, all ſorts of grain continuing to fall in price, and great plenty appearing in every part of the kingdom, the juſtices of the peace, and of the grand juries, aſſembled at the general quarter ſeſſions of the peace, held for the county of Norfolk, compoſed and preſented to the Houſe of Commons, in the beginning of February, a petition,

tion, repreſenting, that the weather proving unfavourable in the harveſt, great part of the barley raiſed in that county was much damaged, and rendered unfit for any other uſe than that of being made into malt for exportation; that unleſs it ſhould be ſpeedily manufactured for that purpoſe, it would be entirely ſpoiled, and periſh in the hands of the growers; a loſs that muſt be very ſenſibly felt by the land-owners: they, therefore, entreated that leave might be given for the exportation of malt; and that they might be favoured with ſuch further relief, as to the Houſe ſhould ſeem juſt and reaſonable. In conſequence of this petition, the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, to deliberate upon the ſubject; and as it appeared, upon examination, that the price of grain was reduced very low, and great abundance diffuſed through the kingdom, they reſolved, that the continuance of that part of the act prohibiting the exportation of grain, ought to be abridged and ſhortened, and the exportation of theſe commodities allowed, under proper regulations, with reſpect to the time of ſuch exportation, and the allowance of bounties thereupon. A bill being founded on theſe reſolutions, was diſcuſſed, and underwent ſeveral amendments: at length it was ſent with a new title to the Lords, who paſſed it without further alteration, and then it obtained the Royal ſanction.

§ XI. While this affair was under the deliberation of the committee, the Commons unanimouſly iſſued an order for leave to bring in a bill to continue, for a limited time, the act of laſt ſeſſion, permitting the importation of ſalted beef from Ireland into Great-Britain, with an inſtruction to receive a clauſe extending this permiſſion to all ſorts of ſalted pork, or hog-meat, as the officers of the cuſtom-houſe had refuſed to admit hams from Ireland to an entry. The bill likewiſe received another conſiderable alteration, importing, That, inſtead of the duty of one ſhilling and three-pence,

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charged by the former act on every hundred weight of ſalted beef or pork imported from Ireland, which was found not adequate to the duty payable for ſuch a quantity of ſalt as is requiſite to be uſed in curing and ſalting thereof; and to prevent as well the expence to the revenue, as the detriment and loſs which would accrue to the owner and importer, from opening the caſks in which the proviſion is generally depoſited, with the pickle or brine proper for preſerving the ſame, in order to aſcertain the net weight of the proviſion liable to the ſaid duties; for theſe reaſons it was enacted, That from and after the twenty-fourth day of laſt December, and during the continuance of this act, a duty of three ſhillings and four-pence ſhould be paid upon importation for every barrel or caſk of ſalted beef or pork containing thirty-two gallons; and one ſhilling and three-pence for every hundred weight of ſalted beef, called dried beef, dried neats-tongues, or dried hog-meat, and ſo in proportion for any greater or leſſer quantity.

§ XII. Repeated complaints having been made to the government by neutral nations, eſpecially the Dutch, that their ſhips had been plundered, and their crews maltreated by ſome of the Engliſh privateers, the legiſlature reſolved to provide effectually againſt any ſuch outrageous practices for the future: and with this view the Commons ordered a bill to be brought in for amending and explaining an act of the twenty-ninth year of his late Majeſty's reign, intituled, "An Act for the encouragement of ſea-"men, and more ſpeedy and effectual manning of "his Majeſty's navy." While the committee was employed in peruſing commiſſions and papers relating to private ſhips of war, that they might be fully acquainted with the nature of the ſubject, a conſiderable number of merchants and others, inhabiting the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey, preſented a petition to the Houſe, alledging, that the inhabitants of thoſe iſlands, which lie in the Britiſh Channel,

nel, within ſight of the French coaſt, had now, as well as in former wars, embarked their fortunes in equipping ſmall privateers, which uſed to run in cloſe with the French ſhore, and being diſguiſed like fiſhing-boats, had not only taken a conſiderable number of prizes, to the great annoyance of the enemy, but alſo obtained material intelligence of their deſigns, on many important occaſions; that theſe ſervices could not be performed by large veſſels, which durſt not approach ſo near the coaſt, and indeed could not appear without giving the alarm, which was communicated from place to place by appointed ſignals. Being informed that a bill was depending, in order to prohibit privateers of ſmall burthen, they declared that ſuch a law, if extended to privateers equipped in thoſe iſlands, would ruin ſuch as had inveſted their fortunes in ſmall privateers, and not only deprive the kingdom of the before-mentioned advantages, but expoſe Great-Britain to infinite prejudice from the ſmall-armed veſſels of France, which the enemy, in that caſe, would pour abroad over the whole Channel, to the great annoyance of navigation and commerc. They prayed, therefore, that ſuch privateers as belonged to the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey might be wholly excepted from the penalties contained in the bill, or that they (the petitioners) might be heard by their counſel, and be indulged with ſuch relief as the Houſe ſhould judge expedient. This repreſentation being referred to the conſideration of the committee, produced divers amendments to the bill, which, at length obtained the Royal aſſent, and contained theſe regulations: That, after the firſt day of January in the preſent year, no commiſſion ſhould be granted to a privateer in Europe under the burthen of one hundred tons, the force of ten carriage guns, being three-pounders or above, with forty men at the leaſt, unleſs the Lords of the Admiralty, or perſons

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other

other perſon belonging to any court of Admiralty, ſhould be concerned in any privateer: that owners of veſſels, not being under fifty, or above one hundred tons, whoſe commiſſions are declared void, ſhould be indemnified for their loſs by the publick: that a court of oyer and terminer, and gaol delivery, for the trial of offences committed within the juriſdiction of the Admiralty, ſhould be held twice a-year in the Old-Bailey at London, or in ſuch other place within England as the Board of Admiralty ſhould appoint: that the judge of any court of Admiralty, after an appeal interpoſed, as well as before, ſhould, at the requeſt of the captor or claimant, iſſue an order for appraiſing the capture, when the parties do not agree upon the value, and an inventory to be taken; then exact ſecurity for the full value, and cauſe the capture to be delivered to the perſon giving ſuch ſecurity: but, ſhould objection be made to the taking ſuch ſecurity, the judge ſhould, at the requeſt of either party, order ſuch merchandize to be entered, landed, and ſold at publick auction, and the produce be depoſited at the Bank, or in ſome publick ſecurities: and in caſe of ſecurity being given, the Judge ſhould grant a paſs in favour of the capture. Finally, the force of this act was limited to the duration of the then war with France only. This regulation was very clearly demonſtrated, that whatever violences might have been committed on the ſhips of neutral nations, they were by no means countenanced by the legiſlature, or the body of the people.

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§ XIII. Every circumſtance relating to the reformation of the marine, muſt be an important object to a nation whoſe wealth and power depend upon navigation and commerce: but a conſideration of equal weight was the eſtabliſhment of the militia, which, notwithſtanding the repeated endeavours of the Parliament, was found ſtill incomplete, and in want of further aſſiſtance from the legiſlature. His

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Majeſty having, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, recommended to the Houſe the making ſuitable proviſion for defraying the charges of the militia during the current year, the accounts of the expence already incurred by this eſtabliſhment were referred to the Committee of Supply, who, after having duly peruſed them, reſolved, that ninety thouſand pounds ſhould be granted on account, towards defraying the charges of pay and clothing for the militia, from the laſt day of the laſt year to the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty, and for repaying a ſum advanced by the King for this ſervice. Leave was given to bring in one bill purſuant to this reſolution, and another to enforce the execution of the laws relating to the militia, remove certain difficulties, and prevent the inconveniencies by which it might be attended. So intent were the majority on both ſides upon this national meaſure, that they not only carried both bills to the throne, where they received the Royal aſſent, but they preſented an addreſs to the King, deſiring his Majeſty would give directions to his Lieutenants of the ſeveral counties, ridings, and places in England, to uſe their utmoſt diligence and attention for carrying into execution the ſeveral acts of Parliament relating to the militia. By this time all the individuals that conſtituted the repreſentatives of the people, except ſuch as actually ſerved in the army, were become very well diſpoſed towards this inſtitution. Thoſe who really wiſhed well to their country had always exerted themſelves in its favour: and it was now likewiſe eſpouſed by thoſe who foreſaw that the eſtabliſhment of a national militia, would enable the adminiſtration to ſend the greater number of regular troops to fight the battles of Germany. Yet how zealous ſoever the legiſlature might be in promoting this inſtitution, and notwithſtanding the ſucceſs with which many patriots exerted

their endeavours through different parts of the king- CHAP. X.
dom, in raiſing and diſciplining the militia, it was 1759.
found not only difficult, but almoſt impracticable, to execute the intention of the Parliament in ſome particular counties, where the gentlemen were indolent and enervated, or in thoſe places where they looked upon their commander with contempt. Even Middleſex itſelf, where the King reſides, was one of the laſt counties in which the militia could be arrayed. In alluſion to this backwardneſs, the preamble or firſt clauſe in one of the preſent acts imported, that certain counties, ridings, and places in England had made ſome progreſs in eſtabliſhing the militia, without completing the ſame, and that, in certain other counties, little progreſs had been made therein, his Majeſty's lieutenants and the deputy-lieutenants, and all others within ſuch counties or diſtricts, were therefore ſtrictly required ſpeedily and diligently to put theſe acts in execution. The truth is, ſome of theſe unwarlike commanders failed through ignorance and inactivity; others gave, or offered commiſſions to ſuch people as threw a ridicule and contempt upon the whole eſtabliſhment, and conſequently hindered many gentlemen of worth, ſpirit, and capacity, from engaging in the ſervice. The mutiny-bill, and that for the regulation of the marine-forces while on ſhore, paſſed through the uſual forms, as annual meaſures, without any diſpute or alteration *.

§ XIV.

* The next bill that fell under the cognizance of the Houſe, related to a law tranſaction, and was ſuggeſted by a petition preſented in the name of the ſheriffs, and grantees of poſt-fines under the crown of England. They enumerated and explained the difficulties under which they laboured, in raiſing and collecting theſe fines within the reſpective counties; particularly when the eſtate conveyed by fine was no more than a right of reverſion, in which caſe they could not poſſibly levy the poſt-fine, unleſs the purchaſer ſhould obtain poſſeſſion within the term of the ſheriffalty, or pay it of his own free will, as they could not diſtrain while the lands were in poſſeſſion of the donee. They, therefore, propoſed a method for raiſing theſe poſt-fines by a proper officer, to be appointed for that purpoſe; and prayed that leave might be given to bring in a bill accordingly. This petition was ſeconded by a meſſage from the King, importing,

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§ XIV. A committee having been appointed to enquire what laws were expired, or near expiring, and to report their opinion to the Houſe touching the revival or continuation of theſe laws, they agreed to ſeveral reſolutions; in conſequence of which the following bills were brought in, and enacted into laws; namely, an act for regulating the laſtage and ballaſtage of the river Thames; an act for continuing the law relating to the puniſhment of perſons going armed or diſguiſed; an act for continuing ſeveral laws near expiring; an act concerning the admeaſurement of coals; an act for the relief of debtors, with reſpect to the impriſonment of their perſons. This laſt was almoſt totally metamorphoſed by alterations, amendments, and additions, among which the moſt remarkable were theſe: that where more creditors than one ſhall charge any priſoner in execution, and deſired to have him detained in priſon, they ſhall only reſpectively pay him each ſuch weekly ſum, not exceeding one ſhilling and ſix-pence per week, as the court, at the time of his being remanded, ſhall direct: that if any priſoner, deſcribed by the act, ſhall remain in priſon three months after being committed, any creditor may

ing, that his Majeſty, as far as his intereſt was concerned, gave his conſent that the Houſe might act in this affair as they ſhould think proper.

The Commons, in a committee of the whole Houſe, having taken into conſideration the merits of the petition, formed ſeveral reſolutions; upon which a bill was founded for the more regular and eaſy collecting, accounting for, and paying of poſt-fines, which ſhould be due to the crown, or to the grantees thereof under the crown, and for the eaſe of ſheriffs in reſpect to the ſame. Before it paſſed into a law, however, it was oppoſed by a petition in favour of one William Daw, a lunatick, clerk of the King's ſilver-office, alledging, that ſhould the bill paſs, it would deprive the ſaid Daw and his ſucceſſors of an ancient fee belonging to his office, on ſearches made for poſt-fines by the under ſheriffs of the ſeveral counties; therefore, praying that ſuch proviſion might be made for the ſaid lunatick as to the Houſe ſhould ſeem juſt and reaſonable. This, and divers other petitions reſpecting the bill, being diſcuſſed in the committee, it underwent ſeveral amendments, and was enacted into a law; the particulars of which cannot be properly underſtood without a previous explanation of this method of conveying eſtates; a ſubject obſcure in itſelf, founded upon a ſeeming ſubterfuge of law, ſcarce reconcileable with the dictates of common ſenſe, and conſequently improper for the pen of an hiſtorian.

compel him to give into court, upon oath, an account of his real and perſonal eſtate, to be diſpoſed of for the benefit of his creditors, they conſenting to his being diſcharged. Why the humanity of this law was confined to thoſe priſoners only who are not charged in execution with any debt exceeding one hundred pounds, cannot eaſily be conceived. A man who through unavoidable misfortunes, hath ſunk from affluence to miſery and indigence, is generally a greater object of compaſſion than he who never knew the delicacies of life, nor ever enjoyed credit ſufficient to contract debts to any conſiderable amount; yet the latter is by this law entitled to his diſcharge, or at leaſt to a maintenance in priſon; while the former is left to ſtarve in gaol, or undergo perpetual impriſonment, amidſt all the horrors of miſery, if he owes above one hundred pounds to a revengeful and unrelenting creditor. Wherefore, in a country, the people of which juſtly pique themſelves upon charity and benevolence, an unhappy fellow-citizen, reduced to a ſtate of bankruptcy by unforeſeen loſſes in trade, ſhould be ſubjected to a puniſhment, which, of all others, muſt be the moſt grievous to a free-born Briton, namely, the entire loſs of liberty; a puniſhment which the moſt flagrant crime can hardly deſerve in a nation that diſclaims the torture; for, doubtleſs, perpetual impriſonment muſt be a torture infinitely more ſevere than death, becauſe protracted through a ſeries of years ſpent in miſery and deſpair, without one glimmering ray of hope, without the moſt diſtant proſpect of deliverance? Wherefore the legiſlature ſhould extend its humanity to thoſe only who are the leaſt ſenſible of the benefit, becauſe the moſt able to ſtruggle under misfortune; and wherefore many valuable individuals ſhould, for no guilt of their own, be not only ruined to themſelves, but loſt to the community? are queſtions which we cannot reſolve to the ſatisfaction of the reader. Of all impriſoned debtors, thoſe

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those who are confined for large sums may be deemed the most wretched and forlorn, because they have generally fallen from a sphere of life where they had little acquaintance with necessity, and were altogether ignorant of the arts by which the severities of indigence are alleviated. On the other hand, those of the lower class of mankind, whose debts are small in proportion to the narrowness of their former credit, have not the same delicate feelings of calamity. They are inured to hardship, and accustomed to the labour of their hands, by which, even in a prison, they can earn a subsistence. Their reverse of fortune is not so great, nor the transition so affecting. Their sensations are not delicate; nor are they, like their betters in misfortune, cut off from hope, which is the wretch's last comfort. It is the man of sentiment and sensibility, who, in this situation, is overwhelmed with a complication of misery and ineffable distress. The mortification of his pride, his ambition blasted, his family undone, himself deprived of liberty, reduced from opulence to extreme want, from the elegancies of life to the most squalid and frightful scenes of poverty and affliction; divested of comfort, destitute of hope, and doomed to linger out a wretched being in the midst of insult, violence riot and uproar; these are reflections so replete with horror, as to render him, in all respects the most miserable object on the face of the earth. He, alas! though possessed of talents that might have essentially served and even adorned society, while thus restrained in prison, and affected in mind, can exert no faculty, nor stoop to any condescension, by which the horrors of his fate might be assuaged. He scorns to execute the lowest offices of menial services, particularly in attending those who are the objects of contempt or abhorrence: he is incapable of exercising any mechanick art, which might afford a happy though a scanty independence. Shrunk within his dismal cell, surrounded by haggard poverty, and her gaunt

gaunt attendants, hollow-eyed famine, ſhivering cold, and wan diſeaſe, he wildly caſts his eyes around: he ſees the tender partner of his heart weeping in ſilent woe; he hears his helpleſs babes clamorous for ſuſtenance; he feels himſelf the importunate cravings of human nature, which he cannot ſatisfy; and groans with all the complicated pangs of internal anguiſh, horror, and deſpair. Theſe are not the fictions of idle fancy, but real pictures, drawn from nature, of which almoſt every priſon in England will afford but too many originals.

§ XV. Among other new meaſures, a ſucceſsful attempt was made in favour of Ireland, by a bill, permitting the free importation of cattle from that kingdom for a limited time. This, however, was not carried through both Houſes without conſiderable oppoſition, ariſing from the particular intereſts of certain counties and diſtricts in ſeveral parts of Great-Britain, from whence petitions againſt the bill were tranſmitted to the Commons. Divers artifices were alſo uſed within doors to ſaddle the bill with ſuch clauſes as might overcharge the ſcheme, and render it odious or alarming to the publick: but the promoters of it being aware of the deſign, conducted it in ſuch a manner as to fruſtrate all their views, and convey it ſafely to the throne, where it was enacted into a law. The like ſucceſs attended another effort in behalf of our fellow-ſubjects of Ireland. The bill for the importation of Iriſh cattle was no ſooner ordered to be brought in, than the Houſe proceeded to take into conſideration the duties then payable on the importation of tallow from the ſame kingdom; and ſeveral witneſſes being examined, the committee agreed to a reſolution, that theſe duties ſhould ceaſe and determine for a limited time. A bill being formed accordingly, paſſed through both Houſes without oppoſition, though in the preceding ſeſſion a bill to the ſame purpoſe had miſcarried among the Peers: a miſcarriage probably

BOOK III. 1759. bably owing to their being unacquainted with the ſentiments of his Majeſty, as ſome of the duties upon tallow conſtituted part of one of the branches appropriated for the civil liſt revenue. This objection, however, was obviated in the caſe of the preſent bill, by the King's meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, ſignifying his Majeſty's conſent, as far as his intereſt was concerned in the affair. By this new act the free importation of Iriſh tallow was permitted for the term of five years.

§ XVI. In the month of February the Commons preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty requeſting that he would give directions for laying before the Houſe an account of what had been done, ſince the beginning of laſt year, towards ſecuring the harbour of Milford, in purſuance of any directions from his Majeſty. Theſe accounts being peruſed, and the King having by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, exhorted them to make proviſion for fortifying the ſaid harbour, a bill was brought in to explain, amend, and render more effectual, the act of the laſt ſeſſion relating to this ſubject; and, paſſing through both Houſes, received the Royal aſſent without oppoſition. By this act ſeveral engineers were added to the Commiſſioners formerly appointed; and it was ordained that fortifications ſhould be erected at Peter-church-point, Weſtlanyon-point, and Neyland-point, as being the moſt proper and beſt ſituated places for fortifying the interior parts of the harbour. It was alſo enacted, that the Commiſſioners ſhould appoint proper ſecretaries, clerks, aſſiſtants, and other officers, for carrying the two acts into execution, and that an account of the application of the money ſhould be laid before Parliament, within twenty days of the opening of every ſeſſion. What next attracted the attention of the Houſe was an affair of the utmoſt importance to the commerce of the kingdom, which equally affected the intereſt of the nation, and the character of the natives. In the

the latter end of February complaint was made to the Houſe, that, ſince the commencement of the war, an infamous traffick had been ſet on foot by ſome merchants of London, of importing French cloths into ſeveral ports of the Levant, on account of Britiſh ſubjects. Five perſons were ſummoned to attend the Houſe, and the fact was fully proved, not only by their evidence, but alſo by ſome papers ſubmitted to the Houſe by the Turkey company. A bill was immediately contrived for putting a ſtop to this ſcandalous practice, reciting in the preamble, that ſuch traffick was not only a manifeſt diſcouragement and prejudice to the woollen manufactures of Great-Britain, but alſo a relief to the enemy, in conſequence of which they were enabled to maintain the war againſt theſe kingdoms. C F . P. 9.

§ XVII. The next object that employed the attention of the Commons was to explain and amend a law made in the laſt ſeſſion for granting to his Majeſty ſeveral rates and duties upon offices and penſions. The directions ſpecified in the former act for levying this impoſition having been found inconvenient in many reſpects, new regulations were now eſtabliſhed, importing, that thoſe deductions ſhould be paid into the hands of receivers appointed by the King for that purpoſe; that all ſums deducted under this act ſhould be accounted for to ſuch receivers, and the accounts audited and paſſed by them, and not by the auditors of the impreſs, or of the Exchequer: that all diſputes relating to the collection of this duty ſhould be finally, and in a ſummary way, determined by the barons of the Exchequer in England and Scotland reſpectively: that the Commiſſioners of the land-tax ſhould fix and aſcertain the ſum total or amount of the perquiſites of every office and employment within their reſpective diſtricts, diſtinct from the ſalary thereunto belonging, to be deducted under the ſaid act, independently of any former valuation or aſſeſſment of the ſame to the

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the land-tax; and ſhould rate or aſſeſs all offices and employments, the perquiſites whereof ſhould be found to exceed the ſum of one hundred pounds per annum, at one ſhilling for every twenty thence ariſing; that the receivers ſhould tranſmit to the Commiſſioners in every diſtrict where any office or employment is to be aſſeſſed, an account of ſuch offices and employments, that upon being certified of the truth of their amount they might be rated and aſſeſſed accordingly; that in all future aſſeſſments of the land-tax the ſaid offices and employments ſhould not be valued at higher rates than thoſe at which they were aſſeſſed towards the land-tax of the thirty-firſt year of the preſent reign; that the word perquiſite ſhould be underſtood to mean ſuch profits of offices and employments as ariſe from fees eſtabliſhed by cuſtom or authority, and payable either by the crown or the ſubjects, in conſideration of buſineſs done in the courſe of executing ſuch offices and employments; and that a Commiſſioner poſſeſſed of any office or employment migł t not interfere in the execution of the ſaid act, except in what might relate to his own employment. By the four laſt clauſes ſeveral ſalaries were exempted from the payment of this duty. The objections made without doors to this new law were the acceſſion of pecuniary influence to the crown, by the creation of a new office and officers, whereas this duty might have been eaſily collected and received by the Commiſſioners of the land-tax already appointed, and the inconſiſtency that appeared between the fifth and ſeventh clauſes: in the former of theſe the Commiſſioners of the land-tax were veſted with the power of aſſeſſing the perquiſites of every office within their reſpective diſtricts, independent of any former valuation or aſſeſſment of the ſame to the land-tax; and by the latter, they are reſtricted from aſſeſſing any office at a higher rate than that of the thirty-firſt year of the reign of George II.

§ XVIII.

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§. XVIII. In the beginning of March petitions were offered to the Houſe by the merchants of Birmingham, in Warwickſhire, and Sheffield, in Yorkſhire, ſpecifying that the toy trade of theſe and many other towns conſiſted generally of articles in which gold and ſilver might be ſaid to be manufactured, though in a ſmall proportion, inaſmuch as the ſale of them depended upon ſlight ornaments of gold and ſilver: that by a clauſe paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, obliging every perſon who ſhould ſell goods or wares in which any gold or ſilver was manufactured, to take out an annual licence of forty ſhillings, they the petitioners were laid under great difficulties and diſadvantages: that not only the firſt ſeller, but every perſon through whoſe hands the goods or wares paſſed to the conſumer, was required to take out the ſaid licence; they therefore, requeſted that the Houſe would take theſe hardſhips and inequalities into conſideration, and indulge them with reaſonable relief. The committee, to which this affair was referred, having reſolved that this impoſition was found detrimental to the toy and cutlery trade of the kingdom, the Houſe agreed to the reſolution, and a bill being prepared, under the title of "An Act to amend the "act made in the laſt ſeſſion, for repealing the duty "granted by an act of the ſixth year of the reign of "his late Majeſty, on ſilver plate, and for granting "a duty on licences to be taken out by all perſons "dealing in gold and ſilver plate," was enacted into a law by the Royal ſanction. By this new regulation, ſmall quantities of gold and ſilver plate were allowed to be ſold without licence. Inſtead of the duty before payable upon licences, another was granted, to be taken out by certain dealers in gold and ſilver plate, pawnbrokers, and refiners. This affair being diſcuſſed, the Houſe took into conſideration the claims of the proprietors of lands purchaſed for the better ſecuring of his Majeſty's docks,

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ſhips, and ſtores at Chatham, Portſmouth, and Plymouth; and for better fortifying the town of Portſmouth, and citadel of Plymouth, in purſuance of an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion. We have already ſpecified the ſum granted for this purpoſe, in conſequence of a reſolution of the Houſe, upon which a bill being founded, ſoon paſſed into a law without oppoſition*.

§ XIX. In the month of April a bill was brought in for the more effectual preventing the fraudulent importation of cambricks; and while it was under deliberation ſeveral merchants and wholeſale drapers of the city of London preſented a petition, repreſenting the grievances to which they, and many thouſand of other traders, would be ſubjected, ſhould the bill, as it then ſtood, be paſſed into a law. According to their requeſt, they were heard by their counſel on the merits of this remonſtrance, and ſome amendments were made to the bill in their favour. At length it received the Royal aſſent, and became a law to the following effect: It enacted, that no cambricks, French lawns, or linens of this kind, uſually entered under the denomination of cambricks, ſhould be imported after the firſt day of next Auguſt, but in bales, caſes, or boxes, covered with ſackcloth or canvas, containing each one hundred whole pieces, or two hundred half pieces, on penalty of forfeiting the whole: that cambricks and French lawns ſhould be imported for exportation only,

* The next bill which was brought into the Houſe related to the ſummons iſſued by the Commiſſioners of the Exciſe, and juſtices of the peace, for the appearance of perſons offending againſt, or for forfeitures incurred by, the laws of Exciſe. As ſome doubts had ariſen with reſpect to the method of ſummoning in ſuch caſes, this bill, which obtained the Royal aſſent in due courſe, enacted, that the ſummons left at the Houſe, or uſual place of reſidence, or with the wife, child, or menial ſervants of the perſon ſo ſummoned, ſhould be held as legal notice, as well as the leaving ſuch notice at the houſe, workhouſe, warehouſe, ſhop, cellar, vault, or uſual place of reſidence, of ſuch perſon, directed to him by his right or aſſumed name? and all dealers in coffee, tea, or chocolate, were ſubjected to the penalty of twenty pounds, as often as they ſhould neglect to attend the Commiſſioners of Exciſe, when ſummoned in this manner, lodged

lodged in the King's warehouſes, and delivered out under like ſecurity and reſtrictions as prohibited Eaſt-India merchandiſe; and, on importation, pay only the half ſubſidy: that all cambricks and French lawns in the cuſtody of any perſons ſhould be depoſited, by the firſt of Auguſt, in the King's warehouſes, the bonds thereupon be delivered up, and the drawback on exportation paid; yet the goods ſhould not be delivered out again but for exportation: that cambricks and French lawns expoſed to ſale, or found in the poſſeſſion of private perſons, after the ſaid day, ſhould be forfeited, and liable to be ſearched for, and ſeized, in like manner as other prohibited and uncuſtomed goods are; and the offender ſhould forfeit two hundred pounds over and above all other penalties and forfeitures inflicted by any former act: that if any doubt ſhould ariſe concerning the ſpecies or quality of the goods, or the place where they were manufactured, the proof ſhould lie on the owner: finally, that the penalty of five pounds inflicted by a former act, and payable to the informer, on any perſon that ſhould wear any cambrick or French lawns, ſhould ſtill remain in force, and be recoverable, on conviction, by oath of one witneſs, before one juſtice of the peace.—The laſt ſucceſsful bill which this ſeſſion produced, was that relating to the augmentation of the ſalaries of the judges in his Majeſty's ſuperior courts of juſtice. A motion having been made for an inſtruction to the committee of ſupply, to conſider of the ſaid augmentation, the Chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted the Houſe that this augmentation was recommended to them by his Majeſty. Nevertheleſs, the motion was oppoſed, and a warm debate enſued. At length, however, being carried in the affirmative, the committee agreed to certain reſolutions, on which a bill was founded. While it remained under diſcuſſion, a motion was made for an inſtruction to the committee, that they ſhould have power to re-

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ceive a clauſe or clauſes for reſtraining the judges, comprehended within the proviſions of the bill, from receiving any fee, gift, preſent, or entertainment, from any city, town, borough, or corporation, or from any ſheriff, gaoler, or other officer, upon their ſeveral reſpective circuits, and from taking any gratuity from any office or officer of any of the courts of law. Another motion was made, for a clauſe reſtraining ſuch Judges, Barons, and Juſtices, as were comprehended within the proviſions of the bill, from interfering, otherwiſe than by giving their own votes, in any election of members to ſerve in Parliament; but both theſe propoſals, being put to the vote, were carried in the negative. Theſe two motions being over-ruled by the majority, the bill underwent ſome amendments; and having paſſed through both Houſes in the ordinary courſe, was enacted into a law by the Royal ſanction. With reſpect to the import of this act, it is no other than the eſtabliſhment of the ſeveral ſtamp-duties, applied to the augmentation; and the appropriation of their produce in ſuch a manner, that the crown cannot alter the application of the ſums thus granted in Parliament. But, on this occaſion, no attempt was made in favour of the independency of the judges, which ſeems to have been invaded by a late interpretation of, or rather by a deviation from, the act of ſettlement; in which it is expreſsly ordained, that the commiſſions of the judges ſhould continue in force *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*; that their ſalaries ſhould be fixed, and none of them removeable but by an addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament. It was then, without all doubt, the intention of the Legiſlature that every Judge ſhould enjoy his office during life, unleſs convicted by legal trial of ſome miſbehaviour, or unleſs both Houſes of Parliament ſhould concur in deſiring his removal: but the doctrine now adopted imports, that no commiſſion can continue in force longer than the life of the King by whom

whom it was granted; that therefore the commiſſions of the Judges muſt be renewed by a new King at his acceſſion, who ſhould have it in his power to employ either thoſe whom he finds acting as Judges at his acceſſion, or confer their offices on others, with no other reſtraint than that the condition of new commiſſions ſhould be *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint.* Thus the office of a Judge is rendered more precarious, and the influence of the Crown receives a conſiderable reinforcement. CHAP. X. 1759.

§ XX. Among the bills that miſcarried in the courſe of this ſeſſion, we may number a ſecond attempt to carry into execution the ſcheme which was offered laſt year for the more effectual manning the navy, preventing deſertion, and relieving and encouraging the ſeamen of Great-Britain. A bill was accordingly brought in, couched in nearly the ſame terms which had been rejected in the laſt ſeſſion; and it was ſupported by a conſiderable number of members, animated with a true ſpirit of patriotiſm: but to the trading part of the nation it appeared one of thoſe plauſible projects, which, though agreeable in ſpeculation, can never be reduced into practice, without a concomitancy of greater evils than thoſe they were intended to remove. While the bill remained under the conſideration of the Houſe, petitions were preſented againſt it by the merchants of Briſtol, Scarborough, Whitby, Kingſton-upon-Hull, and Lancaſter, repreſenting, That by ſuch a law, the trade of the kingdom, which is the nurſery and ſupport of ſeamen at all times, and that ſpirit of equipping private ſhips of war, which had been of diſtinguiſhed ſervice to the nation, would be laid under ſuch difficulties as might cauſe a great ſtagnation in the former, and a total ſuppreſſion of the latter; the bill therefore, would be highly prejudicial to the marine of the kingdom, and altogether ineffectual

BOOK III. 1759. for the purpoſes intended. A great number of books and papers, relating to trading ſhips and veſſels, as well as to ſeamen, and other perſons protected or preſſed into the navy, and to expences occaſioned by preſſing men into the navy, were examined in a committee of the whole Houſe, and the bill was improved with many amendments: nay, after it was printed and engroſſed, ſeveral clauſes were added by way of rider; yet ſtill the experiment ſeemed dangerous. The motion for its being paſt was violently oppoſed; warm debates enſued; they were adjourned, and reſumed; and the arguments againſt the bill appeared at length in ſuch a ſtriking light, that, when the queſtion was put, the majority declared for the negative. The regulations which had been made in Parliament during the twenty-ſixth, the twenty-eighth, and thirtieth years of the preſent reign, for the preſervation of the publick roads, being attended with ſome inconveniencies in certain parts of the kingdom, petitions were brought from ſome counties in Wales, as well as from the freeholders of Herefordſhire, the farmers of Middleſex, and others, enumerating the difficulties attending the uſe of broad wheels in one caſe, and the limitation of horſes uſed in drawing carriages with narrow wheels in the other. The matter of theſe remonſtrances was conſidered in a committee of the whole Houſe, which reſolved, that the weight to be carried by all waggons and carts, travelling on the turnpike roads, ſhould be limited. On this reſolution a bill was framed, for amending and reducing into one act of Parliament the three acts before mentioned for the preſervation of the publick highways: but ſome objections being ſtarted, and a petition interpoſed by the land-owners of Suffolk and Norfolk, alledging that the bill, if paſſed into a law, would render it impoſſible to bring freſh proviſions from thoſe counties to London, as the ſupply depended abſolutely upon the quickneſs of conveyance, the further conſideration

ſideration of it was poſtponed to a longer day, and never reſumed in the ſequel: ſo that the attempt miſcarried. CHAP. X. 1759.

§ XXI. Of all the ſubjects which, in the courſe of this ſeſſion, fell under the cognizance of Parliament, there was none that more intereſted the humanity, or challenged the redreſs, of the Legiſlature, than did the caſe of the poor inſolvent debtors, who languiſhed under all the miſeries of indigence and impriſonment. In the month of February a petition was offered to the Commons in behalf of bankrupts, who repreſented, that having ſcrupulouſly conformed to the laws made concerning bankruptcy, by ſurrendering their all upon oath, for the benefit of their creditors, they had nevertheleſs been refuſed their certificates, without any probability of relief; that by this cruel refuſal, many bankrupts have been obliged to abſcond, while others were immured in priſon, and theſe unhappy ſufferers groaned under the particular hardſhip of being excluded from the benefit of laws occaſionally made for the relief of inſolvent debtors; that the power veſted in creditors of refuſing certificates to their bankrupts was, as the petitioners conceived, founded upon a preſumption that ſuch power would be tenderly exerciſed, and never but in notorious caſes; but the great increaſe in the number of bankrupts within two years paſt, and the ſmall proportion of thoſe who had been able to obtain their certificates, ſeemed to demonſtrate that the power had been uſed for cruel and unjuſt purpoſes, contrary to the intention of the Legiſlature: that as the greater part of the petitioners, and their fellow-ſufferers, muſt inevitably and ſpeedily periſh, with their diſtreſſed families, unleſs ſeaſonably relieved by the interpoſition of Parliament, they implored the compaſſion of the Houſe, from which they hoped immediate favour and relief. This petition was accompanied with a printed caſe, explaining the nature of the laws relating to bankrupts, and

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pointing out their defects in point of policy as well as humanity; but little regard was ſeemingly paid to either remonſtrance. Other petitions, however, being preſented by inſolvent debtors, impriſoned in different goals within the kingdom, leave was given to bring in a bill for their relief, and a committee appointed to examine the laws relating to bankruptcy.

§ XXII. Among other petitionary remonſtrances on this ſubject, the members were ſeparately preſented with the printed caſe of Captain George Walker, a priſoner in the gaol of the King's-Bench, who had been declared a bankrupt, and complained, that he had been ſubjected to ſome flagrant acts of injuſtice and oppreſſion. The caſe contained ſuch extraordinary allegations, and the Captain's character was ſo remarkably fair and intereſting, that the committee, which were empowered to ſend for perſons, papers, and records, reſolved to enquire into the particulars of his misfortune. A motion was made and agreed to, that the marſhal of the priſon ſhould bring the Captain before the committee; and the Speaker's warrant was iſſued accordingly. The priſoner was produced, and examined at ſeveral ſittings; and ſome of the members expreſſed a laudable eagerneſs to do him juſtice: but his antagoniſts were very powerful, and left no ſtone unturned to fruſtrate the purpoſe of the enquiry, which was dropped of courſe at the end of the ſeſſion. Thus the unfortunate Captain Walker, who had, in the late war, remarkably diſtinguiſhed himſelf at ſea by his courage and conduct, repeatedly ſignaliſed himſelf againſt the enemies of his country, was ſent back, without redreſs, to the gloomy manſions of a gaol, where he had already pined for ſeveral years, uſeleſs to himſelf, and loſt to the community, while he might have been profitably employed in retrieving his own fortune, and exerted his talents for the general advantage of the nation. While this affair was in agitation, the bill for the relief

lief of inſolvent debtors was prepared, printed, and read a ſecond time; but, when the motion was made for its being committed, a debate aroſe, and this was adjourned from time to time till the end of the ſeſſion. In the mean time, the committee continued to deliberate upon the laws relating to bankruptcy; and in the beginning of June reported their reſolution to the Houſe, that, in their opinion, ſome amendments might be made to the laws concerning bankruptcy; to the advantage of creditors, and relief of inſolvents. Such was the notice vouchſafed to the cries of many Britiſh ſubjects, deprived of liberty, and deſtitute of the common neceſſaries of life.

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§ XXIII. It would engage us in a long digreſſive diſcuſſion, were we to enquire how the ſpirit of the laws in England, ſo famed for lenity, has been exaſperated into ſuch ſeverity againſt inſolvent debtors; and why, among a people ſo diſtinguiſhed for generoſity and compaſſion, the gaols ſhould be more filled with priſoners than they are in any other part of Chriſtendom. Perhaps both theſe deviations from a general character are violent efforts of a wary legiſlature made in behalf of trade, which cannot be too much cheriſhed in a nation that principally depends upon commerce. The queſtion is, whether this laudable aim may not be more effectually accompliſhed, without ſubjecting individuals to oppreſſion, ariſing from the cruelty and revenge of one another. As the laws are modelled at preſent, it cannot be denied that the debtor, in ſome caſes, lies, in a peculiar manner, at the mercy of his creditor. By the original and common law of England, no man could be impriſoned for debt. The plaintiff in any civil action could have no execution upon his judgment againſt either the body or the lands of the defendant: even with reſpect to his goods and chattels, which were ſubject to execution, he was obliged to leave him ſuch articles as were neceſſary for agriculture.

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culture. But, in proceſs of time, this indulgence being found prejudicial to commerce, a law was enacted, in the reign of Edward the Firſt, allowing execution on the perſon of the debtor, provided his goods and chattels were not ſufficient to pay the debt which he had contracted. This law was ſtill attended with a very obvious inconvenience. The debtor, who poſſeſſed an eſtate in lands, was tempted to ſecrete his moveable effects, and live in concealment on the produce of his lands, while the ſheriff connived at his retirement. To remove this evil, a ſecond ſtatute was enacted in the ſame reign, granting immediate execution againſt the body, lands, and goods of the debtor; yet his effects could not be ſold for the benefit of his creditors till the expiration of three months, during which he himſelf could diſpoſe of them for ready money, in order to diſcharge his incumbrances. If the creditor was not ſatisfied in this manner, he continued in poſſeſſion of the debtor's lands, and detained the debtor himſelf in priſon, where he was obliged to ſupply him with bread and water for his ſupport, until the debt was diſcharged. Other ſevere regulations were made in the ſequel, particularly in the reign of Edward the Third, which gave riſe to the writ of *capias ad ſatisfaciendum*. This, indeed, rendered the preceding laws, called ſtatute-merchant, and ſtatute-ſtaple, altogether unneceſſary. Though the liberty of the ſubject, and the ſecurity of the landholder, were thus, in ſome meaſure, ſacrificed to the advantage of commerce, an impriſoned debtor was not left entirely at the mercy of an inexorable creditor. If he made all the ſatisfaction in his power, and could ſhow that his inſolvency was owing to real misfortunes, the Court of Chancery interpoſed on his petition, and actually ordered him to be diſcharged from priſon, when no good reaſon for detaining him could be aſſigned. This interpoſition, which ſeems naturally to belong to a Court of Equity, conſtituted with

with a view to mitigate the rigour of the common law, ceaſed, in all probability, after the reſtoration of Charles the Second, and of conſequence the priſons were filled with debtors. Then the Legiſlature charged themſelves with the extenſion of a power, which perhaps a Chancellor no longer thought himſelf ſafe in exerciſing; and in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy, paſſed the firſt act for the relief of inſolvent debtors, granting a releaſe to all priſoners for debt, without diſtinction or enquiry. By this general indulgence, which has even in a great meaſure continued in all ſubſequent acts of the ſame kind, the lenity of the Parliament may be ſometimes miſapplied, inaſmuch as inſolvency is often criminal, ariſing from profligacy and extravagance, which deſerve to be ſeverely puniſhed. Yet, even for this ſpecies of inſolvency, perpetual impriſonment, aggravated by the miſeries of extreme indigence, and the danger of periſhing through famine, may be deemed a puniſhment too ſevere. How cruel then muſt it be to leave the moſt innocent bankrupt expoſed to this puniſhment, from the revenge or ſiniſter deſign of a mercileſs creditor; a creditor, by whoſe fraud the priſoner became a bankrupt, and by whoſe craft he is detained in gaol, leſt by his diſcharge from priſon, he ſhould be enabled to ſeek that redreſs in Chancery to which he is entitled on a fair account! The ſeverity of the law was certainly intended againſt fraudulent bankrupts only; and the ſtatute of bankruptcy is, doubtleſs, favourable to inſolvents, as it diſcharges from all former debts thoſe who obtained their certificates. As Britiſh ſubjects, they are ſurely entitled to the ſame indulgence which is granted to other inſolvents. They were always included in every act paſſed for the relief of inſolvent debtors, till the ſixth year of George I. when they were firſt excepted from this benefit. By a law enacted in the reign of Queen Anne, relating to bankruptcy, any creditor was at liberty to object

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object to the confirmation of the bankrupt's certificate; but the Chancellor had power to judge whether the objection was frivolous or well founded: yet, by a later act, the Chancellor is obliged to confirm the certificate, if it is agreeable to four-fifths in number and value of the creditors; whereas he cannot confirm it, ſhould he be oppoſed, even without any reaſon aſſigned, by one creditor to whom the greateſt part of the debt is owing. It might, therefore, deſerve the conſideration of Parliament, whether, in extending their clemency to the poor, it ſhould not be equally diffuſed to bankrupts and other inſolvents; whether proper diſtinction ought not to be made between the innocent bankrupt who fails through misfortunes in trade, and him who becomes inſolvent from fraud or profligacy: and finally, whether the enquiry and trial of all ſuch caſes would not properly fall within the province of Chancery, a tribunal inſtituted for the mitigation of common law.

§ XXIV. The Houſe of Commons ſeems to have been determined on another meaſure, which, however, does not admit of explanation. An order was made in the month of February, that leave ſhould be given to bring in a bill to explain, amend, and render effectual ſo much of an act, paſſed in the thirteenth year of George II. againſt the exceſſive increaſe of horſe-races, and deceitful gaming, as related to that increaſe. The bill was accordingly preſented, read, printed, and ordered to be committed to a committee of the whole Houſe; but the order was delayed from time to time till the end of the ſeſſion. Some progreſs was likewiſe made in another affair of greater conſequence to the community. A committee was appointed in the month of March, to take into conſideration the ſtate of the poor in England, as well as the laws enacted for their maintenance. The clerks of the peace belonging to all the counties, cities, and towns in England

England and Wales, were ordered to tranſmit, for the peruſal of the Houſe, an account of the annual expence of paſſing vagrants through their reſpective diviſions and diſtricts for four years: and the committee began to deliberate on this important ſubject. In the latter end of May the Houſe was made acquainted with their reſolutions, importing, that the preſent methods of relieving the poor in the reſpective pariſhes, where no workhouſes have been provided for their reception and employment, are in general, very burthenſome to the inhabitants, and tend to render the poor miſerable to themſelves, and uſeleſs to the community: that the preſent method of giving money out of the parochial rates to perſons capable of labour, in order to prevent them from claiming an entire ſubſiſtence for themſelves and their families, is contrary to the ſpirit and intention of the laws for the relief of the poor, is a dangerous power in the hands of parochial officers, a miſapplication of the public money, and a great encouragement to idleneſs and intemperance; that the employment of the poor, under proper direction and management, in ſuch works and manufactures as are ſuited to their reſpective capacities, would be of great utility to the publick: that ſettling the poor in workhouſes, to be provided in the ſeveral counties and ridings in England and Wales, under the direction and management of Governors and Truſtees to be appointed for that purpoſe, would be the moſt effectual method of relieving ſuch poor perſons, as, by age, infirmities, or diſeaſes, are rendered incapable of ſupporting themſelves by their labour; of employing the able and induſtrious, reforming the idle and profligate, and of educating poor children in religion and induſtry: that the poor in ſuch workhouſes would be better regulated and maintained, and managed with more advantage to the publick, by Guardians, Governors, or truſtees, to be ſpecially appointed, or choſen for that purpoſe, and incorporated

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corporated with ſuch powers, and under ſuch reſtrictions, as the Legiſlature ſhould deem proper, than by the annual parochial officers: that erecting workhouſes upon the waſte lands, and appropriating a certain quantity of ſuch lands to be cultivated, in order to produce proviſion for the poor in the ſaid houſes would not only be the means of inſtructing and employing many of the ſaid poor in agriculture, but leſſen the expence of the publick: that controverſies and law ſuits concerning the ſettlements of poor perſons occaſioned a very great, and, in general, an uſeleſs expence to the publick, amounting to many thouſand pounds per annum; and that often more money is expended in aſcertaining ſuch ſettlements by each of the contending pariſhes than would be ſufficient to maintain the paupers: that ſhould workhouſes be eſtabliſhed for the general reception of the poor, in the reſpective counties and ridings of England, the laws relating to the ſettlements of the poor, and the paſſing of vagrants, might be repealed: that while the preſent laws relating to the poor ſubſiſt, the compelling pariſh-officers to grant certificates to the poor would, in all probability, prevent the hardſhips they now ſuffer, in being debarred gaining their livelihood, where they can do it moſt uſefully to themſelves and the publick. From theſe ſenſible reſolutions, the reader may conceive ſome idea of the miſconduct that attends the management of the poor in England, as well as of the grievous burthens entailed upon the people by the preſent laws which conſtitute this branch of the Legiſlature. The committee's reſolves being read at the table, an order was made that they ſhould be taken into conſideration on a certain day, when the order was again put off, and in the interim the Parliament was prorogued. While the committee deliberated upon this affair, leave was given to prepare a bill for preventing tenants, under a certain yearly rent, from gaining ſettlements in any particular pariſh, by

being there rated in any land-tax aſſeſſment, and paying for the landlord the money ſo charged. This order was afterwards diſcharged; and another bill brought in to prevent any perſon from gaining a ſettlement, by being rated by virtue of an act of Parliament for granting an aid to his Majeſty by a land-tax, and paying the ſame. The bill was accordingly preſented, read, committed, and paſſed the Lower Houſe; but among the Lords it miſcarried. It can never be expected that the poor will be managed with œconomy and integrity, while the execution of the laws relating to their maintenance is left in the hands of low tradeſmen, who derive private advantage from ſupplying them with neceſſaries, and often favour the impoſition of one another with the moſt ſcandalous colluſion. This is an evil which will never be remedied, until perſons of independent fortune, and unblemiſhed integrity, actuated by a ſpirit of true patriotiſm, ſhall reſcue their fellow-citizens from the power of ſuch intereſted miſcreants, by taking their poor into their own management and protection. Inſtead of multiplying laws with reſpect to the ſettlement and management of the poor, which ſerve only to puzzle and perplex the pariſh and peace officers, it would become the ſagacity of the Legiſlature to take ſome effectual precautions to prevent the increaſe of paupers and vagrants, which is become an intolerable nuiſance to the commonwealth. Towards this ſalutary end, ſurely nothing would more contribute than a reformation of the police, that would aboliſh thoſe infamous places of entertainment, which ſwarm in every corner of the metropolis, ſeducing people of all ranks to extravagance, profligacy, and ruin; and would reſtrict within due bounds the number of publick-houſes, which are augmented to an enormous degree, affording ſo many aſylums for riot and debauchery, and corrupting the morals of the common people to ſuch a pitch of licentious indecency,

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as muſt be a reproach to every civilized nation. Let it not be affirmed, to the diſgrace of Great-Britain, that ſuch receptacles of vice and impunity ſubſiſt under the connivance of the government, according to the narrow views and confined ſpeculation of thoſe ſhallow politicians, who imagine that the revenue is encreaſed in proportion to the quantity of ſtrong liquors conſumed in ſuch infamous receſſes of intemperance. Were this in reality the caſe, that adminiſtration would deſerve to be branded with eternal infamy, which could ſacrifice to ſuch a baſe conſideration the health, the lives, and the morals of their fellow-creatures: but nothing can be more fallacious than the ſuppoſition, that the revenue of any government can be increaſed by the augmented intemperance of the people; for intemperance is the bane of induſtry, as well as of population; and what the Government gains in the articles of the duty on malt, and the exciſe upon liquors, will always be greatly overbalanced by the loſs in other articles, ariſing from the diminution of hands, and the neglect of labour.

§ XXV. Excluſive of the bills that were actually prepared, though they did not paſs in the courſe of this ſeſſion, the Commons deliberated on other important ſubjects, which, however, were not finally diſcuſſed. In the beginning of the ſeſſion, a committee being appointed to reſume the enquiry touching the regulation of weights and meaſures, a ſubject we have mentioned in the hiſtory of the preceding ſeſſion, the box which contained a Troy pound weight, locked up by order of the Houſe, was again produced by the clerk in whoſe cuſtody it had been depoſited. This affair being carefully inveſtigated, the committee agreed to fourteen reſolutions*. In

* As the curioſity of the reader may be intereſted in theſe reſolutions, we ſhall here inſert them for his ſatisfaction. The committee reſolved, that

In the mean time it was ordered, that all the weights, referred to in the report, ſhould be delivered to the clerk

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that the ell ought to contain one yard and one quarter, according to the yard mentioned in the third reſolution of the former committee upon the ſubject of weights and meaſures; that the pole, or perch, ſhould contain in length five ſuch yards and a half; the furlong two hundred and twenty; and the mile one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty: that the ſuperficial perch ſhould contain thirty ſquare yards and a quarter; the rood one thouſand two hundred and ten; and the acre four thouſand eight hundred and forty: that according to the fourth, fifth, and ſixth reſolutions of the former committee, upon the ſubject of weights and meaſures, agreed to by the Houſe on the ſecond day of June in the preceding year, the quart ought to contain ſeventy cubical inches and one half; the pint thirty-five and one quarter; the peck five hundred and ſixty-four; and the buſhel two thouſand two hundred and fifty-ſix. That the ſeveral parts of the pound, mentioned in the eighth reſolution of the former committee, examinedand adjuſted in preſence of this committee, viz. the half pound or ſix ounces, quarter of a pound or three ounces, two ounces, one ounce, two half ounces, the five-penny weight, three-penny weight, two-penny weight, and one penny-weight, the twelve grains, ſix grains three grains, two grains, and two of one grain each, ought to be the models of the ſeveral parts of the ſaid pound, and to be uſed for ſizing or adjuſting weights for the future. That all weights exceeding a pound ſhould be of braſs, copper, bell-metal or caſt iron; and all thoſe of caſt-iron ſhould be made in the form, and with a handle of hammered iron, ſuch as the pattern herewith produced, having the mark of the weight caſt in the iron; and all weights of a pound, or under, ſhould be of gold, ſilver, braſs, copper, or bell-metal. That all weights of caſt-iron ſhould have the initial letters of the name of the maker upon the upper bar of the handle; and all other weights ſhould have the ſame, together with the mark of the weight, according to this ſtandard, upon ſome convenient part thereof. That the yard, mentioned in the ſecond reſolution of the former committee, upon the ſubject of weights and meaſures, agreed to by the Houſe in the laſt ſeſſion, being the ſtandard of length, and the pound mentioned in the eighth reſolution, being the ſtandard of weight, ought to be depoſited in the court of the receipt of the Exchequer, and the Chief Baron, and the ſeal of office of the Chamberlain of the Exchequer, and not to be opened but by the order and in the preſence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Chief Baron for the time being. That the moſt effectual means to aſcertain uniformity in meaſures of length and weight, to be uſed throughout the realm, would be to appoint certain perſons, at one particular office, with clerks and workmen under them, for the purpoſe only of fixing and adjuſting, for the uſe of the ſubjects, all meaſures of length, and all weights, being parts, multiples, or certain proportions of the ſtandards to be uſed for the future. That a model or pattern of the ſaid ſtandard yard, mentioned in the ſecond reſolution of the former committee, and now in the cuſtody of the clerk of the Houſe, and a model or pattern of the ſtandard pound, mentioned in the eighth reſolution of that committee, together with models or patterns of the parts of the ſaid pound now preſented to the Houſe, and alſo of the multiples of the ſaid pound, mentioned in this report (when the ſame are adjuſted) ſhould be kept in the ſaid office, in cuſtody of the ſaid perſons

BOOK III. clerk of the Houſe to be locked up, and brought forth occaſionally.

1759. § XXVI. The Houſe of Commons, among other articles of domeſtick œconomy, beſtowed ſome attention on the Hoſpital for Foundlings, which was now, more than ever, become a matter of national conſideration. The accounts relating to this charity having been demanded, and ſubjected to the inſpection of the members, were, together with the King's recommendation, referred to the committee of ſupply, where they produced the reſolutions which we have already ſpecified among the other grants of the year. The Houſe afterwards reſolved itſelf into a

to be appointed for fizing weights and meaſures, under the ſeal of the chief Baron of the Exchequer for the time being; to be opened only by order of the ſaid chief Baron, in his preſence, or the preſence of one of the Barons of the Exchequer, on the application of the ſaid perſons, for the purpoſe of correcting and adjuſting, as occaſion ſhould require, the patterns or models uſed at the ſaid office, for fizing meaſures of length and weight delivered out to the ſubjects. That models or patterns of the ſaid ſtandard yard and ſtandard pound aforeſaid, and alſo models or patterns of the parts and multiples aforeſaid of the ſaid pound, ſhould be lodged in the ſaid office for the fizing of ſuch meaſures of length or weight, as, being parts, multiples, or proportions of the ſaid ſtandards, ſhould hereafter be required by any of his Majeſty's ſubjects. That all meaſures of length and weight, fized at the ſaid office, ſhould be marked in ſome convenient part thereof with ſuch marks as ſhould be thought expedient, to ſhow the dentity of the meaſures and weights fized at the ſaid office, and to diſcover any frauds that may be committed therein. That the ſaid office ſhould be kept within a convenient diſtance of the Court of Exchequer at Weſtminſter; and all the meaſures of length and weight, within a certain diſtance of London, ſhould be corrected and re-aſſized, as occaſion ſhould require, at the ſaid office. That, in order to enforce the uniformity in weights and meaſures to be uſed for the future, all perſons appointed by the Crown to act as juſtices of the peace in any county, city, or town corporate, being reſpectively counties within themſelves, throughout the realm, ſhould be empowered to hear and determine, and put the law in execution, in reſpect to weights and meaſures only, without any of them being obliged to ſue out a *dedimus*, or to act in any other matter; and the ſaid commiſſioners ſhould be empowered to ſue, impriſon, inflict, or mitigate ſuch penalties as ſhould be thought proper; and have ſuch other authorities as ſhould be neceſſary for compelling the uſe of weights and meaſures, agreeably to the aforeſaid ſtandards. The models or patterns of the ſaid ſtandard yard and pound, and of the parts and multiples thereof, before mentioned, ſhould be diſtributed in each county, in ſuch a manner as to be readily uſed for evidence in all caſes where meaſures and weights ſhould be queſtioned before the ſaid commiſſioners, and for adjuſting the ſame in a proper manner.

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committee, to deliberate on the ſtate of the hoſpital, and examine its accounts. On the third day of May their reſolutions were reported to the following effect: That the appointing, by the Governors and Guardians of the ſaid hoſpital, places in the ſeveral counties, ridings, or diviſions in this kingdom, for the firſt reception of expoſed and deſerted young children, would be attended with many evil conſequences; and that the conveying of children from the country to the ſaid hoſpital is attended with many evil conſequences, and ought to be prevented. A bill was ordered to be brought in, founded upon this laſt reſolution, but never preſented; therefore the enquiry produced no effect. Notwithſtanding the inſtitution of this charity, for the ſupport of which great ſums are yearly levied on the publick, it does not appear that the bills of mortality, reſpecting new-born children, are decreaſed, nor the ſhocking crime of infant-murder rendered leſs frequent than heretofore. It may, therefore, not be improperly ſtyled a heavy additional tax for the propagation of baſtardy, and the encouragement of idleneſs, among the common people; beſides the tendency it has to extinguiſh the feelings of the heart, and diſſolve thoſe family ties of blood by which the charities are connected.

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§ XXVII. In the month of March leave was given to bring in a bill for the more effectual preventing of the melting down and exporting the gold and ſilver coin of the kingdom, and the perſons were nominated to prepare it; but the bill never appeared, and no further enquiry was made about the matter. Perhaps it was ſuppoſed that ſuch a meaſure might be thought an encroachment on the prerogative of the Crown, which hath always exerciſed the power of fixing the ſtandard, and regulating the currency of the coin. Perhaps ſuch a ſtep was de-

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ferred on account of the war, during which a great quantity of gold and ſilver was neceſſarily exported to the continent, for the ſupport of the Allies and armies in the pay of Great-Britain. The Legiſlature, however, would do well to conſider this eternal maxim in computation, that when a greater quantity of bullion is exported, in waſte, than can be replaced by commerce, the nation muſt be haſtening to a ſtate of inſolvency. Over and above theſe proceedings in this ſeſſion of Parliament, it may not be unneceſſary to mention ſeveral meſſages which were ſent by the King to the Houſe of Commons. That relating to the vote of credit we have already ſpecified in our account of the ſupply. On the twenty-ſixth day of April the Chancellor of the Exchequer preſented to the Houſe two meſſages, ſigned by his Majeſty, one in favour of his ſubjects in North-America, and the other in behalf of the Eaſt-India company: the former recommending to their conſideration the zeal and vigour with which his faithful ſubjects in North-America had exerted themſelves in defence of his juſt rights and poſſeſſions; deſiring he might be enabled to give them a proper compenſation for the expences incurred by the reſpective provinces in levying, clothing, and paying the troops raiſed in that country, according as the active vigour and ſtrenuous efforts of the ſeveral colonies ſhould appear to merit: in the latter, he deſired the Houſe would empower him to aſſiſt the Eaſt-India Company in defraying the expence of a military force in the Eaſt-Indies to be maintained by them, in lieu of a battalion of regular troops withdrawn from thence, and returned to Ireland. Both theſe meſſages were referred to the committee of ſupply, and produced the reſolutions upon each ſubject which we have already explained. The meſſage relating to a projected invaſion by the enemies of Great-Britain we ſhall particularize in its proper place,

place, when we come to record the circumſtances and miſcarriage of that deſign. In the mean time, it may not be improper to obſerve, that the thanks of the Houſe of Commons were voted and given to Admiral Boſcawen and Major-General Amherſt, for the ſervices they had done their King and country in North-America; and the ſame compliment was paid to Admiral Oſborne, for the ſucceſs of his cruiſe in the Mediterranean. CHAP. X. 1759.

§ XXVIII. The ſeſſion was cloſed on the ſecond day of June with a ſpeech to both Houſes, from the commiſſioners appointed to his Majeſty for that purpoſe. In this harangue the Parliament was given to underſtand, that the King approved of their conduct, and returned them his thanks for their condeſcenſion; that the hopes he had conceived of their ſurmounting the difficulties which lay in the way were founded on the wiſdom, zeal, and affection of ſo good a Parliament, and that his expectations were fully anſwered; that they had conſidered the war in all its parts, and notwithſtanding its long continuance, though the obſtinacy of the enemy, had made ſuch proviſion for the many different operations as ought to convince the adverſaries of Great-Britain; that it would be for their intereſt, as well as for the eaſe and relief of all Europe, to embrace equitable and honourable terms of accommodation. They were told that, by their aſſiſtance, the combined army in Germany had been completed; powerful ſquadrons, as well as numerous bodies of land-forces were employed in America, in order to maintain the Britiſh rights and poſſeſſions, and annoy the enemy in the moſt ſenſible manner in that country: that, as France was making conſiderable preparations in her different ports, he had taken care to put his fleet at home in the beſt condition, both of ſtrength and ſituation, to guard againſt and repel any attempts that might be meditated againſt his

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kingdoms: that all his meaſures had been directed to aſſert the honour of his crown; to preſerve the eſſential intereſts of his faithful ſubjects; to ſupport the cauſe of the Proteſtant religion, and publick liberty: he therefore truſted that the uprightneſs of his intentions would draw down the bleſſing of Heaven upon his endeavours. He expreſſed his hope, that the precautions they had taken to prevent and correct the exceſſes of the privateers would produce the deſired effect: a conſideration which the King had much at heart; for, though ſenſible of the utility of that ſervice, when under proper regulations, he was determined to do his utmoſt to prevent any injuries or hardſhips which might be ſuſtained by the ſubjects of neutral powers, as far as might be practicable and conſiſtent with his Majeſty's juſt right to hinder the trade of his enemies from being concluſively and fraudulently covered. He not only thanked the Commons, but applauded the firmneſs and vigour with which they had acted, as well as their prudence in judging, that notwithſtanding the preſent burthens, the making ample proviſion for carrying on the war was the moſt probable means to bring it to an honourable and happy concluſion. He aſſured them that no attention ſhould be wanting, on his part, for the faithful application of what had been granted. They were informed he had nothing further to deſire, but that they would carry down the ſame good diſpoſitions, and propagate them in their ſeveral counties, which they had ſhewn in their proceedings during the ſeſſion. Theſe declarations being pronounced, the Parliament was prorogued.

§ XXIX. The people of England, provoked on one hand by the intrigues, the hoſtilities, and menaces of France, and animated on the other by the pride and triumph of ſucceſs, which never fails to reconcile them to difficulties, howſoever great, and expence, however enormous, at this period breathed nothing

nothing but war, and diſcourſed about nothing but new plans of conqueſt. We have ſeen how liberally the Parliament beſtowed the nation's money; and the acquieſcence of the ſubjects in general under the additional burthens which had been impoſed, appeared in the remarkable eagerneſs with which they embarked in the ſubſcription planned by the Legiſlature; in the vigorous aſſiſtance they contributed towards manning the navy, recruiting the army, and levying additional forces; and the warlike ſpirit which began to diffuſe itſelf through all ranks of the people. This was a ſpirit which the miniſtry carefully cheriſhed and cultivated, for the ſupport of the war, which, it muſt be owned, was proſecuted with an ardour and efficacy peculiar to the preſent adminiſtration. True it is, the German war had been for ſome time adopted as an object of importance by the Britiſh councils, and a reſolution was taken to maintain it without flinching: at the ſame time, it muſt be allowed, that this conſideration had not hitherto weakened the attention of the miniſtry to the operations in America, where alone the war may be ſaid to have been carried on and proſecuted on Britiſh principles, ſo as to diſtreſs the enemy in their moſt tender part, and at the ſame time acquire the moſt ſubſtantial advantages to the ſubjects of Britain. For theſe two purpoſes, every preparation was made that ſagacity could ſuggeſt, or vigour execute. The navy was repaired and augmented and, in order to man the different ſquadrons, the expedient of preſſing, that diſgrace to a Britiſh adminiſtration, was practiſed both by land and water with extraordinary rigour and vivacity. A proclamation was iſſued, offering a conſiderable bounty for every ſeaman and every landman that ſhould, by a certain day, enter voluntarily into the ſervice. As an additional encouragement to this claſs of people, the King promiſed his pardon to all ſeamen who had deſerted from their reſpective ſhips

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to which they belonged, provided they ſhould return to their duty by the third day of July; but at the ſame time he declared, that thoſe who ſhould neglect this opportunity, at a time when their country ſo much required their ſervice, would, upon being apprehended, incur the penalty of a court-martial, and if convicted, be deemed unfit objects of the Royal mercy. All Juſtices of the Peace, Mayors, and Magiſtrates of Corporations throughout Great-Britain were commanded to make particular ſearch for ſtraggling ſeamen fit for the ſervice, and to ſend all that ſhould be found to the neareſt ſea-port, that they might be ſent on board by the ſea-officer there commanding. Other methods, more gentle and effectual, were taken to levy and recruit the land-forces. New regiments were raiſed, on his Majeſty's promiſe, that every man ſhould be entitled to his diſcharge at the end of three years, and the premiums for inliſting were increaſed. Over and above theſe indulgences, conſiderable bounties were offered and given by cities, towns, corporations, and even by individuals, ſo univerſally were the people poſſeſſed with a ſpirit of chivalry and adventure. The example was ſet by the metropolis, where the Common-Council reſolved, that voluntary ſubſcriptions ſhould be received in the chamber of London, to be appropriated as bounty-money to ſuch perſons as ſhould engage in his Majeſty's ſervice. The City ſubſcribed a conſiderable ſum for that purpoſe; and a committee of Aldermen and Commoners was appointed to attend at Guildhall, to receive and apply the ſubſcriptions. As a further encouragement to volunteers, they moreover reſolved, that every perſon ſo entering ſhould be entitled to the freedom of the city, at the expiration of three years or ſooner, if the war ſhould be brought to a concluſion. Theſe reſolutions being communicated to the King, he was pleaſed to ſignify his approbation,

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and return his thanks to the city, in a letter from the Secretary of State to the Lord-Mayor. Large ſums were immediately ſubſcribed by different companies, and ſome private perſons; and, in imitation of the capital, bounties were offered by many different communities in every quarter of the united kingdom. At the ſame time, ſuch care and diligence were uſed in diſciplining the militia, that, before the cloſe of the year, the greater part of thoſe truly conſtitutional battalions rivalled the regular troops in the perfection of their exerciſe, and ſeemed to be in all reſpects, as fit for actual ſervice.

§ XXX. Before we proceed to record the tranſactions of the campaign that ſucceeded theſe preparations, we ſhall take notice of ſome domeſtick events, which, though not very important in themſelves, may nevertheleſs claim a place in the Hiſtory of England. In the beginning of the year, the court of London was overwhelmed with affliction at the death of the Princeſs Dowager of Orange and Naſſau, governante of the United Provinces in the minority of her ſon, the preſent Stadtholder. She was the eldeſt daughter of his Britannick Majeſty, poſſeſſed of many perſonal accompliſhments and exemplary virtues; pious, moderate, ſenſible, and circumſpect. She had exerciſed her authority with equal ſagacity and reſolution, reſpected even by thoſe who were no friends to the Houſe of Orange, and died with great fortitude and reſignation*. In her

* Feeling her end approaching, ſhe delivered a key to one of her attendants, directing him to fetch two papers, which ſhe ſigned with her own hand. One was a contract of marriage between her daughter and the Prince of Naſſau Weilburgh; the other was a letter to the States-General beſeeching them to conſent to this marriage, and preſerve inviolate the regulations ſhe had made, touching the education and tutelage of the young Stadtholder. Theſe two papers being ſigned and ſealed, ſhe ſent for her children, exhorted them to make proper improvements on the education they had received, and to live in harmony with each other. Then ſhe implored Heaven to ſhower its bleſſings on them both, and embraced them with the moſt affecting marks of maternal tenderneſs. She afterwards continued to converſe calmly and deliberately with her friends, and in a few hours expired.

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will ſhe appointed the king her father, and the Princeſs Dowager of Orange, her mother-in-law, honorary tutors, and Prince Louis of Brunſwick acting tutor to her children. In the morning after her deceaſe, the States-General and the States of Holland were extraordinarily aſſembled, and having received notice of this event, proceeded to confirm the regulations which had been made for the minority of the Stadtholder. Prince Louis of Brunſwick was invited to aſſiſt in the aſſembly of Holland, where he took the oaths, as repreſenting the Captain-General of the Union. Then he communicated to the aſſembly the act by which the Princeſs had appointed him guardian of her children. He was afterwards invited to the aſſembly of the States-General, who agreed to the reſolution of Holland, with reſpect to his guardianſhip; and in the evening the different colleges of the government ſent formal deputations to the young Stadtholder, and the Princeſs Caroline, his ſiſter, in whoſe names and preſence they were received, and anſwered by their guardian and repreſentative. A formal intimation of the death of the Princeſs was communicated to the King her father, in a pathetick letter, by the States-General; who condoled with him on the irreparable loſs which he as well as they had ſuſtained by this melancholy event, and aſſured him they would employ all their care and attention in ſecuring and defending the rights and intereſt of the young Stadtholder and the Princeſs his ſiſter, whom they conſidered as the children of the Republick. The royal family of England ſuffered another diſaſter in the courſe of this year, by the deceaſe of the Princeſs Elizabeth-Caroline, ſecond daughter of his late Royal Highneſs Frederick Prince of Wales, a lady of the moſt amiable character, who died at Kew in the month of September, before ſhe had attained the eighteenth year of her age.

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§ XXXI. Certain privateers continuing their exceſſes at ſea, and rifling neutral ſhips without diſtinction or authority, the Government reſolved to vindicate the honour of the nation, by making examples of thoſe pirates, who, as faſt as they could be detected and ſecured, were brought to trial, and upon conviction ſacrificed to juſtice. While theſe ſteps were taken to reſcue the nation from the reproach of violence and rapacity, which her neighbours had urged with ſuch eagerneſs, equal ſpirit was exerted in convincing neutral powers that they ſhould not with impunity, contravene the law of nations, in favouring the enemies of Great-Britain. A great number of cauſes were tried relating to diſputed captures, and many Dutch veſſels, with their cargoes, were condemned, after a fair hearing, notwithſtanding the loud clamours of that people, and the repeated remonſtrances of the States-General.

§ XXXII. The reputation of the Engliſh was not ſo much affected by the irregularities of her privateers, armed for rapine, as by the neglect of internal police, and an ingredient of ſavage ferocity mingled in the national character; an ingredient that appeared but too conſpicuous in the particulars of ſeveral ſhocking murders brought to light about this period.—One Halſey, who commanded a merchant ſhip in the voyage from Jamaica to England, having conceived ſome perſonal diſlike to a poor ſailor, inſulted him with ſuch abuſe, expoſed him to ſuch hardſhips, and puniſhed him with ſuch wantonneſs of barbarity, that the poor wretch leaped overboard in deſpair. His inhuman tyrant envying him that death, which would have reſcued a miſerable object from his brutality, plunged into the ſea after him, and brought him on board, declaring, he ſhould not eſcape ſo while there were any torments left to inflict. Accordingly, he exerciſed his tyranny upon him with redoubled rigour, until the poor creature expired, in conſequence of the inhuman treatment

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treatment he had ſuſtained. This ſavage ruffian was likewiſe indicted for the murder of another mariner, but being convicted on the firſt trial, the ſecond was found unneceſſary, and the criminal ſuffered death according to the law, which is perhaps too mild to malefactors convicted of ſuch aggravated cruelty.—Another barbarous murder was perpetrated in the country, near Birmingham, upon a ſheriff's officer, by the ſons of one Darby, whoſe effects the bailiff had ſeized, on a diſtreſs for rent. The two young aſſaſſins, encouraged by the father, attacked the unhappy wretch with clubs, and mangled him in a terrible manner, ſo that he hardly retained any ſigns of life. Not contented with this cruel execution, they ſtripped him naked, and dragging him out of the houſe, ſcourged him with a waggoner's whip, until the fleſh was cut from his bones. In this miſerable condition he was found weltering in his blood, and conveyed to a neighbouring houſe, where he immediately expired. The three barbarians were apprehended, after having made a deſperate reſiſtance. They were tried, convicted, and executed: the ſons were hung in chains, and the body of the father diſſected.—The widow of a Timber-merchant at Rotherhithe being cruelly murdered in her own houſe, Mary Edmonſon, a young woman, her niece, ran out into the ſtreet with her arms cut acroſs, and gave the alarm, declaring her aunt had been aſſaſſinated by four men, who forced their way into the houſe, and that ſhe (the niece) had received thoſe wounds, in attempting to defend her relation. According to the circumſtances that appeared, this unnatural wretch had cut the throat of her aunt and benefactreſs with a caſe-knife, then dragged the body from the waſh-houſe to the parlour; that ſhe had ſtolen a watch and ſome ſilver ſpoons, and concealed them, together with the knife and her own apron, which was ſoaked with the blood of her parent. After having

acted

acted this horrid tragedy, the bare recital of which the humane reader will not peruſe without horror, ſhe put on another apron, and wounded her own fleſh, the better to conceal her guilt. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions ſhe was ſuſpected, and committed to priſon. Being brought to trial, ſhe was convicted and condemned upon circumſtantial evidence, and finally executed on Kennington-Common, though ſhe denied the fact to the laſt moment of her life. At the place of execution ſhe behaved with great compoſure, and, after having ſpent ſome minutes in devotion, proteſted ſhe was innocent of the crime laid to her charge. What ſeemed to corroborate this proteſtation, was the condition and character of the young woman, who had been educated in a ſphere above the vulgar, and maintained a reputation without reproach in the country, where ſhe was actually betrothed to a clergyman. On the other hand, the circumſtances that appeared againſt her almoſt amounted to a certainty, though nothing weaker than proof poſitive ought to determine a jury in capital caſes to give a verdict againſt the perſon accuſed. After all, this is one of thoſe problematick events, which elude the force of all evidence, and ſerve to confound the pride of human reaſon.—A miſcreant, whoſe name was Haines, having eſpouſed the daughter of a farmer in the neighbourhood of Glouceſter, who poſſeſſed a ſmall eſtate, which he intended to divide among ſeven children, was ſo abandoned as to form the deſign of poiſoning the whole family, that by virtue of his wife he might enjoy the whole inheritance. For the execution of this infernal ſcheme, he employed his own father to purchaſe a quantity of arſenick; part of which he adminiſtered to three of the children, who were immediately ſeized with the dreadful ſymptoms produced by this mineral, and the eldeſt expired. He afterwards mixed it with three apple-cakes, which he bought for the purpoſe, and preſented

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preſented to the three other children, who underwent the ſame violence of operation which had proved fatal to the eldeſt brother. The inſtantaneous effects of the poiſon created a ſuſpicion of Haines, who being examined, the whole ſcene of villany ſtood diſcloſed. Nevertheleſs, the villain found means to eſcape.—The uncommon ſpirit of aſſaſſination which raged at this period, ſeemed to communicate itſelf even to foreigners, who breathed Engliſh air. Five French priſoners, confined on board the King's ſhip the Royal Oak, were convicted of having murdered one Jean de Manaux, their countryman and fellow-priſoner, in revenge for his having diſcovered that they had forged paſſes to facilitate their eſcape. Exaſperated at this detection, they ſeized this unfortunate informer in the place of their confinement, gagged his mouth, ſtripped him naked, tied him with a ſtrong cord to a ring-bolt, and ſcourged his body with the moſt brutal perſeverance. By dint of ſtruggling the poor wretch diſengaged himſelf from the cord with which he had been tied: then they finiſhed the tragedy, by leaping and ſtamping on his breaſt, till the cheſt was broke, and he expired. They afterwards ſevered the body into ſmall pieces, and theſe they conveyed at different times into the ſea, through the funnel of a convenience to which they had acceſs; but one of the other priſoners gave information of the murder; in conſequence of which they were ſecured, brought to trial, condemned, and puniſhed with death.—Nor were the inſtances of cruel aſſaſſination, which prevailed at this juncture, confined to Great-Britain. At the latter end of the foregoing year, an atrocious maſſacre was perpetrated by two Genoeſe mariners upon the maſter and crew of an Engliſh veſſel, among whom they were enrolled. Theſe monſters of cruelty were in different watches, a circumſtance that favoured the execution of the horrid plan they had concerted. When one of them retired to reſt with

with his fellows of the watch, conſiſting of the mate and two ſeamen, he waited till they were faſt aſleep, and then butchered them all with a knife. Having ſo far ſucceeded without diſcovery, he returned to the deck, and communicated the exploit to his aſſociate: then they ſuddenly attacked the maſter of the veſſel, and cleft his head with a hatchet, which they likewiſe uſed in murdering the man that ſtood at the helm; a third was likewiſe diſpatched, and no Engliſhman remained alive but the maſter's ſon, a boy, who lamented his father's death with inceſſant tears and cries for three days, at the expiration of which he was likewiſe ſacrificed, becauſe the aſſaſſins were diſturbed by his clamour. This barbarous ſcene was acted within ſixty leagues of the rock of Liſbon; but the veſſel was taken within the Capes Ortugal and Finiſterre, by the Captain of the French privateer, called La Favorite, who ſeeing the deck ſtained with blood, and finding all the papers of the ſhip deſtroyed, began to ſuſpect that the maſter and crew had been murdered. He accordingly taxed them with the murder, and they confeſſed the particulars. The privateer touched at Vigo, where the Captain imparted this detail to the Engliſh Conſul; but the prize, with the two villains on board, was ſent to Bayonne in France, where they were brought to condign puniſhment. CHAP. X. 1759.

§ XXXIII. We ſhall cloſe this regiſter of blood with the account of a murder remarkable in all its circumſtances, for which a perſon, called Eugene Aram, ſuffered at York, in the courſe of this year. This man, who exerciſed the profeſſion of a ſchoolmaſter at Knareſborough, had, as far back as the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-five, been concerned with one Houſeman, in robbing and murdering Daniel Clarke, whom they had previouſly perſuaded to borrow a conſiderable quantity of valuable effects from different perſons in the neighbourhood on falſe pretences, that he might retire

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retire with the booty. He had accordingly filled a ſack with theſe particulars, and began his retreat with his two perfidious aſſociates, who ſuddenly fell upon him, deprived him of life, and, having buried the body in a cave, took poſſeſſion of the plunder. Though Clarke diſappeared at once in ſuch a myſterious manner, no ſuſpicion fell on the aſſaſſins; and Aram, who was the chief contriver and agent in the murder, moved his habitation to another part of the country. In the ſummer of the preſent year, Houſeman being employed, among other labourers, in repairing the publick highway, they, in digging for gravel by the road ſide, diſcovered the ſkeleton of a human creature, which the majority ſuppoſed to be the bones of Daniel Clarke. This opinion was no ſooner broached, than Houſeman, as it were by ſome ſupernatural impulſe which he could not reſiſt, declared that it was not the ſkeleton of Clarke, inaſmuch as his body had been interred at a place called St. Robert's Cave, where they would find it, with the head turned to a certain corner. He was immediately apprehended, examined, admitted as evidence for the Crown, and diſcovered the particulars of the murder. The ſkeleton of Clarke being found exactly in the place and manner he had deſcribed, Eugene Aram, who now acted as uſher to a grammar-ſchool in the county of Norfolk, was ſecured, and brought to trial at the York aſſizes. There, his own wife corroborating the teſtimony of Houſeman, he was found guilty, and received ſentence of death; notwithſtanding a very artful and learned defence, in which he proved, from argument and example, the danger of convicting a man upon circumſtantial evidence. Finding all his remonſtrances ineffectual, he recommended himſelf in pathetick terms to the King's mercy; and if ever murder was entitled to indulgence, perhaps it might have been extended not improperly, to this man, whoſe ge-

nius, in itſelf prodigious, might have exerted itſelf in works of general utility. He had, in ſpite of all the diſadvantages attending low birth and ſtraitened circumſtances, by the dint of his own capacity and inclination, made conſiderable progreſs in mathematicks and philoſophy, acquired all the languages ancient and modern, and executed part of a Celtick dictionary, which, had he lived to finiſh it, might have thrown ſome eſſential light upon the origin and obſcurities of the European Hiſtory. Convinced, at laſt, that he had nothing to hope from the clemency of the government, he wrote a ſhort poem in defence of ſuicide; and, on the day fixed for his execution, opened the veins of his left arm with a razor, which he had concealed for that purpoſe. Though he was much weakened by the effuſion of blood, before this attempt was diſcovered, yet, as the inſtrument had miſſed the artery, he did not expire until he was carried to the gibbet, and underwent the ſentence of the law. His body was conveyed to Knareſborough-foreſt, and hung in chains, near the place where the murder was perpetrated. Theſe are ſome of the moſt remarkable that appeared amongſt many other inſtances of homicide: a crime that prevails to a degree alike deplorable and ſurpriſing, even in a nation renowned for compaſſion and placability. But this will generally be the caſe among people whoſe paſſions, naturally impetuous, are ill reſtrained by laws, and the regulations of civil ſociety; which the licentious do not fear, and the wicked hope to evade.

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§ XXXIV. The Prince of Wales having in the beginning of June, entered the two-and-twentieth year of his age, the anniverſary of his birth was celebrated with great rejoicings at court, and the King received compliments of congratulation on the majority of a prince, who ſeemed born to fulfil the hopes, and complete the happineſs of Great-Britain. The city of London preſented an addreſs to the

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King on this occaſion, replete with expreſſions of loyalty and affection, aſſuring his Majeſty, that no hoſtile threats could intimidate a people animated by the love of liberty, who, confiding in the Divine Providence, and in his Majeſty's experienced wiſdom and vigorous councils, were reſolved to exert their utmoſt efforts towards enabling their Sovereign to repel the inſults, and defeat the attempts made by the ancient enemies of his crown and kingdom. Congratulations of the ſame kind were offered by other cities, towns, corporations, and communities, who vied with each other in profeſſions of attachment; and, indeed, there was not the leaſt trace of diſaffection perceivable at this juncture in any part of the iſland.

§ XXXV. So little were the citizens of London diſtreſſed by the expence, or incommoded by the operations of the war, that they found leiſure to plan, and funds to execute magnificent works of art, for the ornament of the metropolis, and the convenience of commerce. They had obtained an act of Parliament, empowering them to build a new bridge over the Thames, from Black-friars to the oppoſite ſhore, about midway between thoſe of London and Weſtminſter. Commiſſioners were appointed to put this act in execution; and, at a court of Common-Council, it was reſolved that a ſum not exceeding one hundred and forty-four thouſand pounds ſhould be forthwith raiſed, within the ſpace of eight years, by inſtalments, not exceeding thirty thouſand pounds in one year, to be paid into the chamber of London; that the perſons advancing the money ſhould have an intereſt at the rate of four pounds per cent. per annum, to be paid half yearly by the Chamberlain, yet redeemable at the expiration of the firſt ten years; and that the Chamberlain ſhould affix the city's ſeal to ſuch inſtruments as the committee might think fit to give for ſecuring the payment of the ſaid annuities. Such were the

firſt

firſt effectual ſteps taken towards the execution of a laudable meaſure, which met with the moſt obſtinate oppoſition in the ſequel, from the narrow views of particular people, as well as from the prejudice of party.

§ XXXVI. The ſpirit that now animated the citizens of London was ſuch as ſmall difficulties did not retard, and even conſiderable loſſes could not diſcourage. In the month of November the city was expoſed to a dangerous conflagration, kindled in the night by accident in the neighbourhood of the Royal-Exchange, which burned with great fury, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance of the firemen and engines employed under the perſonal direction of the magiſtracy, conſumed a great number of houſes, and damaged many more. That whole quarter of the town was filled with conſternation: ſome individuals were beggared; one or two periſhed in the flames, and ſome were buried in the ruins of the houſes that ſunk under the diſaſter.

§ XXXVII. The ferment of mind ſo peculiar to the natives of Great-Britain, excited by a ſtrange mixture of genius and caprice, paſſion and philoſophy, ſtudy and conjecture, produced at this period ſome flowers of improvement, in different arts and ſciences, that ſeemed to promiſe fruit of publick utility. Several perſons invented methods for diſcovering the longitude at ſea, that great *deſideratum* in navigation, for the aſcertainment of which ſo many nations have offered a publick recompenſe, and in the inveſtigation of which ſo many mathematical heads have been diſordered. Some of thoſe who now appeared candidates for the prize, deſerved encouragement for the ingenuity of their ſeveral ſyſtems; but he who ſeemed to enjoy the pre-eminence in the opinion and favour of the publick, was Mr. Irwin, a native of Ireland, who contrived a chair ſo artfully poiſed, that a perſon ſitting in it on

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board a ſhip, even in a rough ſea, can through a teleſcope, obſerve the immerſion and emerſion of Jupiter's ſatellites, without being interrupted or incommoded by the motion of the veſſel. This gentleman was favoured with the aſſiſtance and protection of Commodore Lord Howe, in whoſe preſence the experiment was tried in ſeveral ſhips at ſea with ſuch ſucceſs, that he granted a certificate, ſignifying his approbation; and in conſequence of this, Mr. Irwin is ſaid to have obtained a conſiderable reward from the Board of Admiralty.

§ XXXVIII. The people of England, happy in their ſituation, felt none of the ſtorms of war and deſolation which ravaged the neighbouring countries: but, enriched by a ſurpriſing augmentation of commerce, enjoyed all the ſecurity of peace, and all the pleaſures of taſte and affluence. The univerſity of Oxford having conferred the office of their Chancellor, vacant by the death of the Earl of Arran, upon another nobleman of equal honour and integrity, namely, the Earl of Weſtmoreland, he made a publick entrance into that celebrated ſeat of learning with great magnificence, and was inſtalled amidſt the Encænia, which were celebrated with ſuch claſſical elegance of pomp, as might have rivalled the chief Roman feſtival of the Auguſtan age. The Chancellor elect was attended by a ſplendid train of the nobility and perſons of diſtinction. The city of Oxford was filled with a vaſt concourſe of ſtrangers. The proceſſions were contrived with taſte, and conducted with decorum. The inſtallation was performed with the moſt ſtriking ſolemnity. The congratulatory verſes, and publick ſpeeches, breathed the ſpirit of old Rome; and the ceremony was cloſed by Dr. King, that venerable ſage of St. Mary Hall, who pronounced an oration in praiſe of the new Chancellor with all the flow of Tully, animated by the fire of Demoſthenes.

§ XXXIX.

§ XXXIX. We ſhall conclude the remarkable incidents of this year*, that are detached from the proſecution of the war, with the detail of an event equally ſurpriſing and deplorable.—A ſloop called the Dolphin, bound from the Canaries to New-York, met with ſuch unfavourable weather, that ſhe was detained one hundred and ſixty-five days in the paſſage, and the proviſion of the ſhip was altogether expended before the firſt fifty days were elapſed. The wretched crew had devoured their dog, cat, and all their ſhoes on board: at length, being reduced to the utmoſt extremity, they agreed to caſt lots for their lives, that the body of him upon whom the lot ſhould fall might ſerve for ſome time to ſupport the ſurvivors. The wretched victim was one Antoni Galatia, a Spaniſh gentleman and paſſenger. Him they ſhot with a muſquet; and having cut off his head, threw it overboard; but the entrails, and the reſt of the carcaſe they greedily devoured. This horrid banquet having as it were, fleſhed the famiſhed crew, they began to talk of another ſacrifice, from which, however, they were diverted by the influence and remonſtrances of their Captain, who prevailed upon them to be ſatisfied with a miſerable allowance to each per diem, cut

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* In the ſpring of the year the liberal arts ſuſtained a lamentable loſs in the death of George Frederick Handel, the moſt celebrated maſter in muſick which this age had produced. He was by birth a German; but had ſtudied in Italy, and afterwards ſettled in England, where he met with the moſt favourable reception, and reſided above half a century, univerſally admired for his ſtupendous genius in the ſublime parts of muſical compoſition.

One would be apt to imagine, that there was ſomething in the conſtitution of the air at this period, which was particularly unfavourable to old age; inaſmuch as, in the compaſs of a few months, the following perſons, remarkable for their longevity, died in the kingdom of Scotland: William Barnes, who had been above ſeventy years a ſervant in the family of Brodie, died there, at the age of one hundred and nine. Catherine Makenzie died in Roſs-ſhire, at the age of one hundred and eighteen. Janet Blair, deceaſed at Monemuſk, in the ſhire of Aberdeen, turned of one hundred and twelve. Alexander Stephens, in Bamffshire, at the age of one hundred and eight. Janet Harper, at Bains-hole, at the age of one hundred and ſeven. Daniel Cameron, in Rannach, married when he was turned of one hundred, and ſurvived his marriage thirty years.

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from a pair of leather breeches found in the cabin. Upon this calamitous pittance, reinforced with the graſs which grew plentifully upon the deck, theſe poor objects made ſhift to ſubſiſt for twenty days, at the expiration of which they were relieved, and taken on board one Captain Bradſhaw, who chanced to fall in with them at ſea. By this time the whole crew, conſiſting of ſeven men, were ſo ſqualid and emaciated, as to exhibit an appearance at once piteous and terrible; and ſo reduced in point of ſtrength, that it was found neceſſary to uſe ropes and tackle for hoiſting them from one ſhip to the other. The circumſtance of the lot falling upon the Spaniard, who was the only foreigner on board, encourages a ſuſpicion that foul play was offered to this unforunate ſtranger; but the moſt remarkable part of this whole incident is, that the maſter and crew could not contrive ſome ſort of tackle to catch fiſh, with which the ſea every where abounds, and which, no doubt, might be caught with the help of a little ingenuity. If implements of this kind were provided in every ſhip, they would probably prevent all thoſe tragical events at ſea that are occaſioned by famine.

§ XL. Previous to the more capital operations in war, we ſhall particularize the moſt remarkable captures that were made upon the enemy by ſingle ſhips of war, during the courſe of this ſummer and autumn. In the month of February, a French privateer belonging to Granville, called the Marquis de Marigny, having on board near two hundred men, and mounted with twenty cannon, was taken by Captain Parker, commander of his Majeſty's ſhip the Montague; who likewiſe made prize of a ſmaller armed veſſel, from Dunkirk, of eight cannon and ſixty men. About the ſame period, Captain Graves, of the Unicorn, brought in the Moras privateer, of St. Maloes, carrying two hundred men,

men, and two-and-twenty cannon. Two large merchant-ſhips, laden on the French King's account for Martinique, with proviſion, clothing, and arms, for the troops on that iſland, were taken by Captain Lendrick, commander of the Brilliant; and an Engliſh tranſport from St. John's, having four hundred French priſoners on board, periſhed near the Weſtern Iſlands. Within the circle of the ſame month, a large French ſhip from St. Domingo, richly laden, fell in with the Favourite ſhip of war, and was carried into Gibraltar. CHAP. X. 1759.

§ XLI. In the month of February, Captain Hood, of his Majeſty's frigate the Veſtal, belonging to a ſmall ſquadron commanded by Admiral Holmes, who had ſailed for the Weſt-Indies in January, being advanced a conſiderable way a-head of the fleet, deſcried and gave chaſe to a ſail, which proved to be a French frigate called the Bellona, of two hundred and twenty men, and two-and-thirty great guns, commanded by the Count de Beauhonoire. Captain Hood, having made a ſignal to the Admiral, continued the chaſe until he advanced within half Muſquet-ſhot of the enemy, and then poured in a broadſide, which was immediately retorted. The engagement thus begun was maintained with great vigour on both ſides for the ſpace of four hours; at the expiration of which the Bellona ſtruck, after having loſt all her maſts and rigging, together with about forty men killed in the action. Nor was the victor in a much better condition. Thirty men were killed and wounded on board the Veſtal. Immediately after the enemy ſubmitted, all her rigging being deſtroyed by the ſhot, the topmaſts fell overboard; and ſhe was otherwiſe ſo much damaged, that ſhe could not proceed on her voyage. Captain Hood, therefore, returned with his prize to Spithead; and afterwards met with a gracious reception from his Majeſty, on account of the valour and conduct he had diſplayed on this occaſion. The Bel-

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Iona had ſailed in January from the iſland of Martinique, along with the Floriſſant, and another French frigate, from which ſhe had been ſeparated in the paſſage. Immediately after this exploit, Captain Elliot, of the Æolus frigate accompanied by the Iſis, made prize of a French ſhip, the Mignonne, of twenty guns, and one hundred and forty men, one of four frigates employed as convoy to a large fleet of merchant-ſhips, near the iſland of Rhée.

§ XLII. In the month of March, the Engliſh frigates the Southampton and Melampe, commanded by the Captains Gilchriſt and Hotham, being at ſea to the northward on a cruiſe, fell in with the Danaë, a french ſhip of forty cannon, and three hundred and thirty-men, which was engaged by Captain Hotham in a ſhip of half the force, who maintained the battle a conſiderable time with admirable gallantry, before his conſort could come to his aſſiſtance. As they fought in the dark, Captain Gilchriſt was obliged to lie by for ſome time, becauſe he could not diſtinguiſh the one from the other; but no ſooner did the day appear, than he bore down upon the Danaë with his uſual impetuoſity, and ſoon compelled her to ſurrender: ſhe did not ſtrike, however, until thirty or forty of her men were ſlain: and the gallant Captain Gilchriſt received a grape-ſhot in his ſhoulder, which, though it did not deprive him of life, yet rendered him incapable of future ſervice: a misfortune the more to be lamented, as it happened to a brave officer in the vigour of his age, and in the midſt of a ſanguinary war, which might have afforded him many other opportunities of ſignalizing his courage for the honour and advantage of his country. Another remarkable exploit was achieved about the ſame juncture by Captain Barrington, commander of the ſhip Achilles, mounted with ſixty cannon, who, to the weſtward of Cape Finiſterre, encountered a French ſhip of equal force, called

called the Count de St. Florintin, bound from Cape François on the iſland of Hiſpaniola to Rochefort, under the command of the Sieur de Montay, who was obliged to ſtrike, after a cloſe and obſtinate engagement, in which he himſelf was mortally wounded, a great number of his men ſlain, and his ſhip ſo damaged, that ſhe was with difficulty brought into Falmouth. Captain Barrington obtained the victory at the expence of about five-and-twenty men killed and wounded, and all his rigging, which the enemy's ſhot rendered uſeleſs. Two ſmall privateers from Dunkirk were alſo taken, one called the Marquis de Bareil, by the Brilliant, which carried her into Kinſale in Ireland; the other called the Carilloneur, which ſtruck to the Grace cutter, aſſiſted by the boats of the ſhip Rocheſter, commanded by Captain Duff, who ſent her into the Downs.

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§ XLIII. About the latter end of March, Captain Samuel Falkner, in the ſhip Windſor, of ſixty guns, cruiſing to the weſtward, diſcovered four large ſhips to leeward, which, when he approached them, formed the line of battle a-head, in order to give him a warm reception. He accordingly cloſed with the ſternmoſt ſhip, which ſuſtained his fire about an hour: then the other three bearing away with all the ſail they could carry, ſhe ſtruck her colours, and was conducted to Liſbon. She proved to be the Duc de Chartres, pierced for ſixty cannon, though at that time carrying no more than four-and-twenty, with a complement of three hundred men, about thirty of whom were killed in the action. She belonged, with the other three that eſcaped, to the French Eaſt-India Company, was laden with gunpowder, and naval ſtores, and bound for Pondicherry. Two privateers, called La Chaſſeur and Le Conquerant, the one from Dunkirk, and the other from Cherbourg, were taken and carried into Plymouth by Captain Hughes, of his Majeſty's frigate the Tamer. A third, called the Deſpatch, from Morlaix, was

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was brought into Penzance by the Diligence ſloop, under the command of Captain Eaſtwood. A fourth, called the Baſque, from Bayonne, furniſhed with two-and-twenty guns, and above two hundred men, fell into the hands of Captain Parker, of the Brilliant, who conveyed her into Plymouth. Captain Antrobus, of the Surprize, took the Vieux, a privateer of Bourdeaux; and a fifth, from Dunkirk, ſtruck to Captain Knight, of the Liverpool, off Yarmouth. In the month of May, a French frigate, called the Arethuſa, mounted with two-and-thirty cannon, manned with a large complement of hands, under the command of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, ſubmitted to two Britiſh frigates, the Venus, and the Thames, commanded by the Captains Harriſon and Colby, after a warm engagement, in which ſixty men were killed and wounded on the ſide of the enemy. In the beginning of June an armed ſhip belonging to Dunkirk, was brought into the Downs, by Captain Angel, of the Stag; and a privateer of force, called the Counteſs de la Serre, was ſubdued and taken, after an obſtinate action, by Captain Moore, of his Majeſty's ſhip the Adventure.

§ XLIV. Several armed ſhips of the enemy, and rich prizes, were taken in the Weſt-Indies, particularly two French frigates, and two Dutch ſhips with French commodities, all richly laden, by ſome of the ſhips of the ſquadron which Vice-Admiral Coats commanded on the Jamaica ſtation. A fifth called the Velour, from St. Domingo, with a valuable cargo on board, being fortified with twenty cannon, and above one hundred men, fell in with the Favourite ſloop of war, under the command of Captain Edwards, who, after an obſtinate diſpute, carried her in triumph to Gibraltar. At St. Chriſtopher's, in the Weſt-Indies, Captain Collingwood, commander of the King's ſhip the Creſcent, attacked two French frigates, the Amethyſte and Berkeley;

the former of which eſcaped, after a warm engagement, in which the Creſcent's rigging was ſo much damaged, that ſhe could not purſue: but the other was taken, and conveyed into the harbour of Baſſeterre. Notwithſtanding the vigilance and courage of the Engliſh cruiſers in thoſe ſeas, the French privateers ſwarmed to ſuch a degree, that in the courſe of this year they took above two hundred ſail of Britiſh ſhips, valued at ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. This their ſucceſs is the more remarkable, as by this time the iſland of Guadaloupe was in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, and Commodore Moore commanded a numerous ſquadron in thoſe very latitudes.

§ XLV. In the beginning of October, the Hercules ſhip of war, mounted with ſeventy-four guns, under the command of Captain Porter, cruiſing in the chops of the Channel, deſcried to windward a large ſhip, which proved to be the Floriſſant, of the ſame force with the Hercules. Her commander, perceiving the Engliſh ſhip giving chaſe, did not ſeem to decline the action; but bore down upon her in a ſlanting direction, and the engagement began with great fury. In a little time, the Hercules having loſt her top-maſt, and all her rigging being ſhot away, the enemy took advantage of this diſaſter, made the beſt of his way, and was purſued till eight o'clock next morning, when he eſcaped behind the iſle of Oleron. Captain Porter was wounded in the head with a grape-ſhot, and loſt the uſe of one leg in the engagement.

§ XLVI. Having taken notice of all the remarkable captures and exploits that were made and achieved by ſingle ſhips ſince the commencement of the preſent year, we ſhall now proceed to deſcribe the actions that were performed in this period by the different ſquadrons that conſtituted the naval power of Great-Britain. Intelligence having been received that the enemy meditated an invaſion upon ſome of the Britiſh territories, and that a number of flat-

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bottomed boats were prepared at Havre-de-Grace, for the purpoſe of diſembarking troops, Rear-Admiral Rodney was in the beginning of July, detached with a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips and bombs to annoy and overawe that part of the coaſt of France. He accordingly anchored in the road of Havre, and made a diſpoſition to execute the inſtructions he had received. The bomb veſſels, being placed in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur, began to throw their ſhells, and continued the bombardment for two-and-fifty hours, without intermiſſion, during which a numerous body of French troops were employed in throwing up entrenchments, erecting new batteries, and firing both with ſhot and ſhells upon the aſſailants. The town was ſet on fire in ſeveral places, and burned with great fury; ſome of the boats were overturned, and a few of them reduced to aſhes, while the inhabitants forſook the place in the utmoſt conſternation: nevertheleſs, the damage done to the enemy was too inconſiderable to make amends for the expence of the armament, and the loſs of nineteen hundred ſhells and eleven hundred carcaſſes, which were expended in this expedition. Bombardments of this kind are at beſt but expenſive and unprofitable operations, and may be deemed a barbarous method of proſecuting war, inaſmuch as the damage falls upon the wretched inhabitants, who have given no cauſe of offence, and who are generally ſpared by an humane enemy, unleſs they have committed ſome particular act of provocation.

§ XLVII. The honour of the Britiſh flag was much more effectually aſſerted by the gallant Admiral Boſcawen, who, as we have already obſerved, was entruſted with the conduct of a ſquadron in the Mediterranean. It muſt be owned, however, that his firſt attempt ſavoured of temerity. Having in vain diſplayed the Britiſh flag in ſight of Toulon, by way of defiance to the French fleet that lay there at

at anchor, he ordered three ſhips of the line, commanded by the Captains Smith, Harland, and Barker, to advance and burn two ſhips that lay cloſe to the mouth of the harbour. They accordingly approached with great intrepidity, and met with a very warm reception from divers batteries which they had not before perceived. Two ſmall forts they attempted to deſtroy, and cannonaded for ſome time with great fury; but being over-matched by ſuperior force, and the wind ſubſiding into a calm, they ſuſtained conſiderable damage, and were towed off with great difficulty in a very ſhattered condition. The Admiral ſeeing three of his beſt ſhips ſo roughly handled in this enterpriſe, returned to Gibraltar in order to refit; and M. de la Clue, the French commander of the ſquadron at Toulon, ſeiſed this opportunity of ſailing in hopes of paſſing the Straits mouth unobſerved, his fleet, conſiſting of twelve large ſhips and three frigates. Admiral Boſcawen, who commanded fourteen ſail of the line with two frigates, and as many fire ſhips, having refitted his ſquadron, detached one frigate to cruiſe off Malaga, and another to hover between Eſtepona and Ceuta-point; with a view to keep a good look-out, and give timely notice in caſe the enemy ſhould approach. On the ſeventeenth day of Auguſt, at eight in the evening, the Gibraltar frigate made a ſignal that fourteen ſail appeared on the Barbary ſhore, to the eaſtward of Ceuta; upon which the Engliſh Admiral immediately heaved up his anchors and went to ſea: at day-light he deſcried ſeven large ſhips lying to; but when the Engliſh ſquadron forbore to anſwer their ſignal, they diſcovered their miſtake, ſet all their ſails, and made the beſt of their way. This was the greater part of the French ſquadron commanded by M. de la Clue, from whom five of his large ſhips and three frigates had ſeparated in the night. Even now, perhaps, he might have eſcaped, had he not been obliged to wait for the

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the Souveraine which was a heavy ſailer. At noon the wind, which had blown a freſh gale, died away, and although Admiral Boſcawen had made ſignal to chaſe, and engage in a line of battle a-head, it was not till half an hour after two that ſome of his headmoſt ſhips could cloſe with the rear of the enemy; which, though greatly out-numbered, fought with uncommon bravery. The Engliſh Admiral, without waiting to return the fire of the ſternmoſt, which he received as he paſſed, uſed all his endeavours to come up with the Ocean, which M. de la Clue commanded in perſon; and about four o'clock in the afternoon, running athwart her hawſe, poured into her a furious broadſide: thus the engagement began with equal vigour on both ſides. This diſpute, however, was of ſhort duration. In about half an hour Admiral Boſcawen's mizen-maſt and topſail-yards were ſhot away; and the enemy hoiſted all the ſail they could carry. Mr. Boſcawen having ſhifted his flag from the Namur to the Newark, joined ſome other ſhips in attacking the Centaur, of ſeventy-four guns, which, being thus overpowered, was obliged to ſurrender. The Britiſh Admiral purſued them all night, during which the Souveraine, and the Guerrier, altered their courſe, and deſerted their commander. At day-break, M. de la Clue, whoſe left leg had been broke in the engagement, perceiving the Engliſh ſquadron crowding all their ſails to come up with him, and finding himſelf on the coaſt of Portugal, determined to burn his ſhips rather than they ſhould fall into the hands of the victors. The Ocean was run aſhore two leagues from Lagos, near the fort of Almadana, the commander of which fired three ſhot at the Engliſh; another Captain of the French ſquadron followed the example of his commander, and both endeavoured to diſembark their men; but the ſea being rough, this proved a very tedious and difficult attempt. The Captains of the Temeraire and Modeſte, inſtead of deſtroying

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ing their ſhips, anchored as near as they could to the forts Xavier and Lagres, in hopes of enjoying their protection: but in this hope they were diſappointed. M. de la Clue had been landed, and the command of the Ocean was left to the Count de Carne, who, having received one broadſide from the America, ſtruck his colours, and the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of this noble prize, the beſt ſhip in the French navy, mounted with eighty cannon. Captain Bentley, of the Warſpight, who had remarkably ſignalized himſelf by his courage during the action of the preceding day, attacked the Temeraire, of ſeventy-four guns, and brought her off with little damage. Vice-Admiral Broderick, the ſecond in command, advancing with his diviſion, burned the Redoutable, of ſeventy-four guns, which was bulged, and abandoned by her men and officers; but they made prize of the Modeſte, carrying ſixty-four guns, which had not been much injured in the engagement. This victory was obtained by the Engliſh Admiral at a very ſmall expence of men; the whole number of the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred and fifty on board of the Britiſh ſquadron, though the carnage among the enemy muſt have been much more conſiderable, as M. de la Clue, in his letter to the French Ambaſſador at Liſbon, owned, that on board of his own ſhip, the Ocean, one hundred men were killed on the ſpot, and ſeventy dangerouſly wounded: but the moſt ſevere circumſtance of this diſaſter was the loſs of four capital ſhips, two of which were deſtroyed, and the other two brought in triumph to England, to be numbered among the beſt bottoms of the Britiſh navy. What augmented the good fortune of the victors, was, that not one officer loſt his life in the engagement. Captain Bentley, whom the Admiral diſpatched to England with the tidings of his ſucceſs, met with a gracious reception from the King, who knighted him for his gallantry.

§ XLVIII.

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§ XLVIII. As we propoſe to throw together all the naval tranſactions of the year, eſpecially thoſe that happened in the European ſeas, that they may be comprehended, as it were, in one view, we muſt now, without regarding the order of time, poſtpone many previous events of importance, and record the laſt action by ſea, that in the courſe of this year diſtinguiſhed the flag of Great-Britain. The Court of Verſailles, in order to embarraſs the Britiſh miniſtry, and divert their attention from all external expeditions, had in the winter projected a plan for invading ſome part of the Britiſh dominions; and in the beginning of the year had actually begun to make preparations on different parts of their coaſt for carrying this deſign into execution. Even as far back as the latter end of May, meſſages from the King to both Houſes of Parliament were delivered by the Earl of Holderneſſe and Mr. Pitt, the two Secretaries of State, ſignifying that his Majeſty had received advices of preparations making by the French Court, with a deſign to invade Great-Britain: that though perſuaded, by the univerſal zeal and affection of his people, any ſuch attempt muſt, under the bleſſing of God, end in the deſtruction of thoſe who engaged in it; yet he apprehended he ſhould not act conſiſtent with that paternal care and concern which he had always ſhown for the ſafety and preſervation of his ſubjects, if he omitted any means in his power which might be neceſſary for their defence: he, therefore, acquainted the Parliament with his having received repeated intelligence of the enemy's preparations, to the end that his Majeſty might, if he ſhould think proper, in purſuance of the late act of Parliament, cauſe the militia, or ſuch part thereof as ſhould be neceſſary, to be drawn out and embodied, in order to march as occaſion ſhould require. Theſe meſſages were no ſooner read, than each Houſe ſeparately reſolved to preſent an addreſs thanking his Majeſty for having communicated this intelligence;

intelligence; assuring him that they would, with their lives and fortunes, support him against all attempts whatever: that, warmed with affection and zeal for his person and government, and animated by indignation at the daring designs of an enemy whose fleet had hitherto shunned the terror of the British navy, they would chearfully exert their utmost efforts to repel all insults, and effectually enable their Sovereign not only to disappoint the attempts of France, but, by the blessing of God, turn them to their own confusion. The Commons at the same time resolved upon another address, desiring his Majesty would give directions to his lieutenants of the several counties, ridings, and places within South-Britain, to use their utmost diligence and attention in executing the several Acts of Parliament made for the better ordering the militia. CHAP. X. 1759.

§ XLIX. These and other precautionary steps were accordingly taken; but the administration wisely placed their chief dependence upon the strength of the navy, part of which was so divided and stationed, as to block up all the harbours of France in which the enemy were known to make any naval armament of consequence. We have seen in what manner Rear-Admiral Rodney visited the town and harbour of Havre-de-Grace, and scoured that part of the coast in successive cruises: we have also recorded the expedition and victory of Admiral Boscawen over the squadron of La Clue, which was equipped at Toulon, with a design to assist in the projected invasion. Notwithstanding this disaster, the French ministry persisted in their design; towards the execution of which they had prepared another considerable fleet, in the harbours of Rochefort, Brest, and Port-Louis, to be commanded by M. de Conflans, and reinforced by a considerable body of troops, which were actually assembled under the Duc d'Aiguillon, at Vannes, in Lower Bretagne. Flat-bottomed boats and transports to be used in this

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expedition were prepared in different ports on the coaſt of France; and a ſmall ſquadron was equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of an enterpriſing adventurer, called Thurot, who had, in the courſe of the preceding year, ſignaliſed his courage and conduct in a large privateer called the Belleiſle, which had ſcoured the North-Seas, taken a number of ſhips, and at one time maintained an obſtinate battle againſt two Engliſh frigates, which were obliged to deſiſt, after having received conſiderable damage. This man's name became a terror to the merchants of Great-Britain; for his valour was not more remarkable in battle than his conduct in eluding the purſuit of the Britiſh cruiſers, who were ſucceſſively detached in queſt of him through every part of the German Ocean and North-Sea, as far as the iſlands of Orkney. It muſt be likewiſe owned, for the honour of human nature, that this bold mariner, though deſtitute of the advantages of birth and education, was remarkably diſtinguiſhed by his generoſity and compaſſion to thoſe who had the misfortune to fall into his power; and that his deportment in every reſpect entitled him to a much more honourable rank in the ſervice of his country. The court of Verſailles were not inſenſible to his merit. He obtained a commiſſion from the French King, and was veſted with the command of the ſmall armament now fitting out in the harbour of Dunkirk. The Britiſh government, being appriſed of all theſe particulars, took ſuch meaſures to defeat the purpoſed invaſion as muſt have conveyed a very high idea, of the power of Great-Britain to thoſe who conſidered, that, excluſive of the force oppoſed to this deſign, they at the ſame time carried on the moſt vigorous and important operations of war in Germany, America, and the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies. Thurot's armament at Dunkirk was watched by an Engliſh ſquadron in the Downs, commanded by Commodore Boys; the port of Havre was guarded

by Rear-Admiral Rodney; Mr. Boſcawen had been ſtationed off Toulon, and the coaſt of Vannes was ſcoured by a ſmall ſquadron detached from Sir Edward Hawke, who had, during the ſummer, blocked up the harbour of Breſt, where Conflans lay with his fleet, in order to be joined by the other diviſions of the armament. Theſe different ſquadrons of the Britiſh navy were connected by a chain of ſeparate cruiſers; ſo that the whole coaſt of France, from Dunkirk to the extremity of Bretagne, was diſtreſſed by an actual blockade. CHAP. X. 1759.

§ L. The French miniſtry being thus hampered, forebore their attempt upon Britain; and the projected invaſion ſeemed to hang in ſuſpence till the month of Auguſt, in the beginning of which their army in Germany was defeated at Minden. Their deſigns in that country being baffled by this diſaſter, they ſeemed to convert their chief attention to their ſea-armament; the preparations were reſumed with redoubled vigour; and even, after the defeat of La Clue, they reſolved to try their fortune in a deſcent. They now propoſed to diſembark a body of troops in Ireland. Thurot received orders to ſail from Dunkirk with the firſt opportunity, and ſhape his courſe round the northern parts of Scotland, that he might alarm the coaſt of Ireland, and make a diverſion from that part where Conflans intended to effectuate the diſembarkation of his forces. The tranſports and ſhips of war were aſſembled at Breſt and Rochefort, having on board a train of artillery, with ſaddles, and other accoutrements for cavalry, to be mounted in Ireland: and a body of French troops, including part of the Iriſh brigade, was kept in readineſs to embark. The execution of this ſcheme was, however, prevented by the vigilance of Sir Edward Hawke, who blocked up the harbour of Breſt with a fleet of twenty-three capital ſhips; while another ſquadron of ſmaller ſhips and frigates, under the command of Captain Duff, con-

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tinued to cruiſe along the French coaſt, from port L'Orient in Bretagne, to the point of St. Gilles in Poitou. At length, however, in the beginning of November, the Britiſh ſquadron, commanded by Sir Edward Hawke, Sir Charles Hardy, and Rear-Admiral Geary, were driven from the coaſt of France by ſtreſs of weather, and on the ninth day of the month anchored in Torbay. The French Admiral, Conflans, ſnatched this opportunity of ſailing from Breſt with one-and-twenty ſail of the line and four frigates, in hopes of being able to deſtroy the Engliſh ſquadron commanded by Captain Duff, before the large fleet could return from the coaſt of England. Sir Edward Hawke having received intelligence that the French fleet had ſailed from Breſt, immediately ſtood to ſea, in order to purſue them; and in the mean time, the government iſſued orders for guarding all thoſe parts of the coaſt that were thought the moſt expoſed to a deſcent. The land-forces were put in motion, and quartered along the ſhore of Kent and Suſſex: all the ſhips of war in the different harbours, even thoſe that had juſt arrived from America, were ordered to put to ſea, and every ſtep was taken to diſconcert the deſigns of the enemy.

§ LI. While theſe meaſures were taken with equal vigour and deliberation, Sir Edward Hawke ſteered his courſe directly for Quiberon, on the coaſt of Bretagne, which he ſuppoſed would be the rendezvous of the French ſquadron: but notwithſtanding his utmoſt efforts, he was driven by a hard gale conſiderably to the weſtward, where he was joined by two frigates, the Maidſtone and Coventry. Theſe he directed to keep a-head of the ſquadron. The weather growing more moderate, the former made the ſignal for ſeeing a fleet, on the twentieth day of November, at half an hour paſt eight o'clock in the morning, and in an hour afterwards diſcovered them to be the enemy's ſquadron. They were at that time in

in chaſe of Captain Duff's ſquadron, which now joined the large fleet, after having run ſome riſque of being taken. Sir Edward Hawke, who, when the Maidſtone gave the firſt notice, had formed the line a-breaſt, now perceiving that the French Admiral endeavoured to eſcape with all the ſail he could carry, threw out a ſignal for ſeven of his ſhips that were neareſt the enemy to chaſe, and endeavour to detain them, until they could be reinforced by the reſt of the ſquadron, which were ordered to form into a line-of-battle a-head, as they chaſed, that no time might be loſt in the purſuit. Conſidering the roughneſs of the weather, which was extremely tempeſtuous; the nature of the coaſt, which is in this place rendered very hazardous by a great number of ſand-banks, ſhoals, rocks, and iſlands, as entirely unknown to the Britiſh ſailors, as they were familiar to the French navigators; the dangers of a ſhort day, dark night, and lee ſhore; it required extraordinary reſolution in the Engliſh Admiral to attempt hoſtilities on this occaſion: but Sir Edward Hawke, ſteeled with the integrity and fortitude of his own heart, animated by a warm love for his country, and well acquainted with the importance of the ſtake on which the ſafety of that country in a great meaſure depended, was reſolved to run extraordinary riſques in his endeavours to fruſtrate at once a boaſted ſcheme projected for the annoyance of his fellow-ſubjects. With reſpect to his ſhips of the line, he had but the advantage of one in point of number, and no ſuperiority in men or metal, conſequently, M. de Conflans might have hazarded a fair battle on the open ſea, without any imputation of temerity: but he thought proper to play a more artful game, though it did not ſucceed according to his expectation. He kept his fleet in a body, and retired cloſe in ſhore, with a view to draw the Engliſh ſquadron among the ſhoals and iſlands, on which he hoped they would pay dear for

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their raſhneſs and impetuoſity, while he and his officers, who were perfectly acquainted with the navigation, could either ſtay, and take advantage of the diſaſter, or, if hard preſſed, retire through channels unknown to the Britiſh pilots. At half an hour after two the van of the Engliſh fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Belleiſle. Every ſhip, as ſhe advanced, poured in a broadſide on the ſternmoſt of the French, and bore down upon their van, leaving the rear to thoſe that came after. Sir Edward Hawke, in the Royal George, of one hundred and ten guns, reſerved his fire in paſſing through the rear of the enemy, and ordered his maſter to bring him along-ſide of the French Admiral, who commanded in perſon on board the Soleil Royal, a ſhip mounted with eighty cannon, and provided with a complement of twelve hundred men. When the pilot remonſtrated that he could not obey his command, without the moſt imminent riſque of running upon a ſhoal, the veteran replied, "You "have done your duty in ſhowing the danger; now "you are to comply with my order, and lay me "along-ſide the Soleil Royal." His wiſh was gratified: the Royal George ranged up with the French Admiral. The Theſée, another large ſhip of the enemy, running up between the two commanders, ſuſtained the fire that was reſerved for the Soleil Royal; but in returning the firſt broadſide foundered, in conſequence of the high ſea that entered her lower deck-ports, and filled her with water. Notwithſtanding the boiſterous weather, a great number of ſhips on both ſides fought with equal fury and dubious ſucceſs, till about four in the afternoon, when the Formidable ſtruck her colours. The Superb ſhared the fate of the Theſée in going to the bottom. The Hero hauled down her colours in token of ſubmiſſion, and dropped anchor; but the wind was ſo high, that no boat could be ſent to take poſſeſſion.

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poſſeſſion. By this time day-light began to fail, and the greater part of the French fleet eſcaped under cover of the darkneſs. Night approaching, the wind blowing with augmented violence on a lee-ſhore, and the Britiſh ſquadron being entangled among unknown ſhoals and iſlands, Sir Edward Hawke made the ſignal for anchoring to the weſtward of the ſmall iſland Dumet; and here the fleet remained all night in a very dangerous riding, alarmed by the fury of the ſtorm, and the inceſſant firing of guns of diſtreſs, without their knowing whether it proceeded from friend or enemy. The Soleil Royal had, under favour of the night, anchored alſo in the midſt of the Britiſh ſquadron; but at day-break M. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and ſhe drove a-ſhore to the weſtward of Crozie. The Engliſh Admiral immediately made ſignal to the Eſſex to ſlip cable, and purſue her; and, in obeying this order, ſhe ran unfortunately on a ſand-bank called Lefour, where the Reſolution, another ſhip of the Britiſh ſquadron, was already grounded. Here they were both irrecoverably loſt, in ſpite of all the aſſiſtance that could be given; but all their men, and part of their ſtores, were ſaved, and the wrecks ſet on fire by order of the Admiral. He likewiſe detached the Portland, Chatham, and Vengeance to deſtroy the Soleil Royal, which was burned by her own people before the Engliſh ſhips could approach; but they arrived time enough to reduce the Hero to aſhes on the Lefour, where ſhe had been alſo ſtranded; and the Juſte, another of their great ſhips, periſhed in the mouth of the Loire. The Admiral, perceiving ſeven large ſhips of the enemy riding at anchor between Point Penvas and the mouth of the river Vilaine, made the ſignal to weigh, in order to attack them; but the fury of the ſtorm increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he was obliged to remain at anchor, and even order the top-gallant-maſts to be ſtruck. In the mean time, the French ſhips being lightened of

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their cannon, their officers took advantage of the flood, and a more moderate gale under the land to enter the Vilaine, where they lay within half a mile of the entrance, protected by ſome occaſional batteries erected on the ſhore, and by two large frigates moored acroſs the mouth of the harbour. Thus they were effectually ſecured from any attempts of ſmall veſſels; and as for large ſhips, there was not water ſufficient to float them within fighting diſtance of the enemy. On the whole, this battle, in which a very inconſiderable number of lives was loſt, may be conſidered as one of the moſt perilous and important actions that ever happened in any war between the two nations; for it not only defeated the projected invaſion, which had hung menacing ſo long over the apprehenſions of Great-Britain; but it gave the finiſhing blow to the naval power of France, which was totally diſabled from undertaking any thing of conſequence in the ſequel*. By this time, indeed, Thurot had eſcaped from Dunkirk, and directed his courſe to the North-Sea, whither he was followed by Commodore Boys, who nevertheleſs was diſappointed in his purſuit; but the fate of that enterpriſing adventurer falls under the annals of the enſuing year, among the tranſactions of which it ſhall be recorded. As for Sir Edward Hawke, he continued cruiſing off the coaſt of Bretagne for a conſiderable time after the victory he had obtained, taking particular care to block up the mouth of the river Vilaine, that the ſeven French ſhips might not eſcape and join M. Conflans, who made ſhift to reach Rochefort with the ſhattered remains of his ſquadron. Indeed, this ſervice became ſuch a conſider-

* During this war, the Engliſh had already taken and deſtroyed twenty-ſeven French ſhips of the line, and thirty one frigates: two of their great ſhips and four frigates periſhed; ſo that their whole loſs, in this particular, amounted to ſixty-four; whereas, the loſs of Great-Britain did not exceed ſeven ſail of the line, and five frigates. It may be eaſily conceived how the French marine, at firſt greatly inferior to the naval power of Britain, muſt have been affected by this dreadful balance to its prejudice.

able

able object in the eyes of the Britiſh miniſtry, that a large fleet was maintained upon this coaſt, apparently for no other purpoſe, during a whole year, and, after all, the enemy eluded their vigilance. Sir Edward Hawke, having undergone a long and dangerous conflict with tempeſtuous weather, was at length recalled, and preſented to his Sovereign, who gratified him with a conſiderable penſion, for the courage and conduct he had ſo often and ſo long diſplayed in the ſervice of his country; and his extraordinary merit was afterwards honoured with the approbation of the Parliament. The people of France were ſo diſpirited by the defeat of their army at Minden, and the diſaſter of their ſquadron at Lagos, that the miniſtry of Verſailles thought proper to conceal the extent of their laſt misfortunes under a palliating detail publiſhed in the Gazette of Paris, as a letter from M. Conflans to the Count de St. Florentin, Secretary of the marine. In this partial miſrepreſentation their Admiral was made to affirm, that the Britiſh fleet conſiſted of forty ſhips of the line of battle, beſides frigates; that the Soleil Royal had obliged the Royal George to ſheer off; that the ſeven ſhips which retreated into the river Vilaine had received very little damage, and would be ſoon repaired; and that, by the junction of Bompart's ſquadron, he ſhould be ſoon able to give a good account of the Engliſh Admiral. Theſe tumid aſſertions, ſo void of truth, are not to be imputed to an illiberal ſpirit of vain glory, ſo much as to a political deſign of extenuating the national calamity, and ſupporting the ſpirit of the people.

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§ LII. The alarm of the French invaſion, which was thus ſo happily fruſtrated, not only diſturbed the quiet of Great-Britain, but alſo diffuſed itſelf to the kingdom of Ireland, where it was productive of ſome publick diſorder. In the latter end of October, the two Houſes of Parliament, aſſembled at Dublin, received a formal meſſage from

BOOK III. 1759. from the Duke of Bedford, Lord-Lieutenant of that kingdom, to the following effect: That, by a letter from the Secretary of State, written by his Majeſty's expreſs command, it appeared that France, far from reſigning her plan of invaſion, on account of the diſaſter that befel her Toulon ſquadron, was more and more confirmed in her purpoſe, and even, inſtigated by deſpair itſelf, to attempt, at all hazards, the only reſource ſhe ſeemed to have left for thwarting, by a diverſion at home, the meaſures of England abroad in proſecuting a war which hitherto opened, in all parts of the world, ſo unfavourable a proſpect to the views of French ambition: that in caſe the body of French troops, amounting to eighteen thouſand men, under the command of the Duc d'Aiguillon, aſſembled at Vannes, where alſo a ſufficient number of tranſports was prepared, ſhould be able to elude the Britiſh ſquadron, Ireland would, in all probability, be one of their chief objects; his grace thought it, therefore, incumbent upon him, in a matter of ſuch high importance to the welfare of that kingdom, to communicate this intelligence to the Iriſh Parliament. He told them, his Majeſty would make no doubt but that the zeal of his faithful Proteſtant ſubjects in that kingdom, had been already ſufficiently quickened by the repeated accounts received of the enemy's dangerous deſigns, and actual preparations made, at a vaſt expence, in order to invade the ſeveral parts of the Britiſh dominions. He gave them to underſtand he had received his Sovereign's commands, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to animate and excite his loyal people of Ireland to exert their well-known zeal and ſpirit in ſupport of his Majeſty's government, and in defence of all that was dear to them, by timely preparation to reſiſt and fruſtrate any attempts of the enemy to diſturb the quiet and ſhake the ſecurity of this kingdom: he, therefore, in the ſtrongeſt manner, recommended it to them

to

to manifeſt, upon this occaſion, that zeal for the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, and that affection for his Majeſty's perſon and government, by which the Parliament of that nation had been ſo often diſtinguiſhed. Immediately after this meſſage was communicated, the Houſe of Commons unanimouſly reſolved to preſent an addreſs to the Lord-Lieutenant, thanking his Grace for the care and concern he had ſhown for the ſafety of Ireland, in having imparted intelligence of ſo great importance; deſiring him to make uſe of ſuch means as ſhould appear to him the moſt effectual for the ſecurity and defence of the kingdom; and aſſuring him, that the Houſe would make good whatever expence ſhould be neceſſarily incurred for that purpoſe. This intimation, and the ſteps that were taken in conſequence of it for the defence of Ireland, produced ſuch apprehenſions and diſtraction among the people of that kingdom, as had well nigh proved fatal to the publick credit. In the firſt tranſports of popular fear, there was ſuch an extraordinary run upon the banks of Dublin, that ſeveral conſiderable bankers were obliged to ſtop payment; and the circulation was in danger of being ſuddenly ſtagnated, when the Lord-Lieutenant, the members of both Houſes of Parliament, the lord-mayor, aldermen, merchants, and principle traders of Dublin, engaged in an aſſociation to ſupport publick credit, by taking the notes of bankers in payment: a reſolution which effectually anſwered the purpoſe intended.

§ LIII. Howſoever the court of Verſailles might have flattered itſelf that their invading army would in Ireland be joined by a great number of the natives, in all probability it would have been diſappointed in this hope, had their purpoſed deſcent even been carried into execution, for no ſigns of diſaffection to the reigning family appeared at this juncture. On the conrrary, the wealthy individuals of the Romiſh perſuaſion offered to accommodate the

BOOK III. 1759. the government with large ſums of money, in caſe of neceſſity, to ſupport the preſent eſtabliſhment againſt its enemies; and the Roman Catholicks of the City of Cork, in a body, preſented an addreſs to the Lord-Lieutenant, expreſſing their loyalty in the warmeſt terms of aſſurance. After having congratulated his Grace on the unparalleled ſucceſſes which had attended his Majeſty's arms, and expreſſed their ſenſe of the King's paternal tenderneſs for his kingdom of Ireland, they acknowledged, with the deepeſt ſenſe of gratitude, that protection and indulgence they had enjoyed under his Majeſty's mild and auſpicious reign. They profeſſed the warmeſt indignation at the threatened invaſion of the kingdom, by an enemy, who, grown deſperate from repeated defeats, might poſſibly make that attempt as a laſt effort, vainly flattered with the imaginary hope of aſſiſtance in Ireland from the former attachment of their deluded predeceſſors. They aſſured his Grace, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that ſuch ſchemes were altogether inconſiſtent with their principles and intentions: that they would, to the utmoſt exertion of their abilities, with their lives and fortunes, join in the defence and ſupport of his Majeſty's royal perſon and government againſt all invaders whatſoever: that they ſhould be always ready to concur in ſuch meaſures, and to act ſuch parts in defence of the kingdom, in common with the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects, as his Grace in his great wiſdom ſhould be pleaſed to appoint; and think themſelves particularly happy to be under the direction and command of ſo known an aſſertor of liberty, ſuch an important and diſtinguiſhed governor. Finally, they expreſſed the moſt earneſt wiſh, that his Majeſty's arms might be crowned with ſuch a continuance of ſucceſs, as ſhould enable him to defeat the devices of all his enemies, and obtain a ſpeedy and honourable peace. This cordial addreſs, which was tranſmitted to the Earl of Shannon,

Shannon, and by him preſented to the Duke of Bed- CHAP. X.
ford, muſt have been very agreeable to the govern- 1759.
ment at ſuch a critical conjuncture.

§ LIV. Although no traces of diſaffection to his Majeſty's family appeared on this trying occaſion, it muſt nevertheleſs be acknowledged, that a ſpirit of diſſatisfaction broke out with extraordinary violence among the populace of Dublin. The preſent Lord-Lieutenant was not remarkably popular in his adminiſtration. He had beſtowed one place of conſiderable importance upon a gentleman whoſe perſon was obnoxious to many people in that kingdom, and perhaps failed in that affability and condeſcenſion which a free and ferocious nation expects to find in the character of him to whoſe rule they are ſubjected. Whether the offence taken at his deportment had created enemies to his perſon, or the nation in general began to entertain doubts and jealouſies of the goverment's deſigns, certain it is, great pains were taken to propagate a belief among the lower ſort of people, that an union would ſoon be effected between Great-Britain and Ireland; in which caſe this laſt kingdom would be deprived of its parliament and independency, and be ſubjected to the ſame taxes that are levied upon the people of England. This notion inflamed the populace to ſuch a degree, that they aſſembled in a prodigious multitude, broke into the Houſe of Lords, inſulted the Peers, ſeated an old woman on the throne, and ſearched for the journals, which had they been found, they would have committed to the flames. Not content with this outrage, they compelled the members of both Houſes, whom they met in the ſtreets, to take an oath that they would never conſent to ſuch an union, or give any vote contrary to the true intereſt of Ireland. Divers coaches belonging to obnoxious perſons were deſtroyed, and their horſes killed; and a gibbet was erected for one gentleman in particular, who narrowly eſcaped the ungovernable rage of thoſe

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riotous insurgents. A body of horse and infantry were drawn out on this occasion, in order to overawe the multitude, which at night dispersed of itself. Next day addresses to the Lord-Lieutenant were agreed to by both Houses of Parliament, and a committee of enquiry appointed, that the ringleaders of the tumult might be discovered, and brought to condign punishment.

§ LV. When the ministry of England received the first advice, that M. Thurot had escaped from Dunkirk with a small squadron of armed ships, having on board a body of land-troops, designed for a private expedition on the coast of Scotland or Ireland, expresses were immediately dispatched to the commanding officers of the forces in North-Britain, with orders to put the forts along the coast of that kingdom in the best posture of defence; and to hold every thing in readiness to repel the enemy, in case they should attempt a descent. In consequence of these instructions, beacons were erected for the immediate communication of intelligence; places of rendezvous appointed for the regular troops and militia; and strict orders issued that no officer should absent himself from his duty, on any pretence whatever. The greatest encomium that can be given to the character of this partizan, is an account of the alarm which the sailing of his puny armament spread through the whole extent of such a powerful kingdom, whose fleets covered the ocean. Perhaps Thurot's career would have been sooner stopped, had Commodore Boys been victualled for a longer cruise; but this commander was obliged to put into Leith for a supply of provisions, at the very time when Thurot was seen hovering on the coast near Aberdeen; and before the English squadron was provided for a prosecution of the cruise, the other had taken shelter at Gottenburgh, in Sweden.

END OF VOL. IV.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM